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PART III.

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PLATES.

THE (EARLY) LORSCH SCRIPTORIUM.

BY W. M. LINDSAY.

I. — Preamble.

If we palaeographers got from some fairy a wishing-cap and one wish only were allowed us, that wish would be, I fancy, for " a full account of each great writing-centre, its history, the vicissitudes of its script, the abbreviation-symbols current there, the marks by which we may detect its products ". A full account of an important scriptorium would fill a volume, such a volume as the German palaeographer, Dr. Tafel, was preparing on the Lyons scriptorium or the Belgian, Abbe Liebaert, on the Corbie scriptorium. But although anything on that scale cannot be attempted in this journal. I hope to print a series of articles on as many scriptoriums as possible, along with plates exhibiting the characteristic script of each. What a boon it would be. could we learn particulars of — let us say — each centre of Anglosaxon writing on the Continent, so that we could distinguish at a glance the Insular script of Fulda from, say, that of Wuerzburg, and could trace the Insular elements in the Continental minuscule of each place where English missionaries had once been! In the ' magnum opus ' for which this journal tries to collect material, the great work on Latin Palaeography (which decade of this century will see its publication?), the chapter on Anglosaxon script cannot be written till all these details have been collected.

The collection of them is not easy. We may know (from

an 'ex libris' entry) that a MS. in the English hand formerly belonged to the library of e. g. Lorsch. But can we be sure that it was written at Lorsch? The famous English Homilies MS. of Vercelli (no. 117, of "saec. x ex."; cf. M. Foerster 'Der Vercelli-Codex CXVII' in Studien engl. Philologie *L* [1913], p. 20) was hardly written at Vercelli; it may have been left there by a pilgrim on his way to or from Rome. Even a MS. whose provenance is certain may not exhibit the characteristics of its place of origin. Bruun of Fulda wrote at Wuerzburg the Rule of St Benedict MS. which is still there (Wuerzburg Mp. th. Q 22, saec. ix in.), a beautiful specimen of Anglosaxon minuscule. But he was a visitor there, not a resident; and his MS. shews the Fulda, not the Wuerzburg type. The subscription (fol. 57ʳ, in red) is: Cognoscatis quod ego bruun scripsi istam regulam sci benedicti abbatis; lege felix feliciter et mementote mei in oratione vestra. (He corrected *memento* to *mementote*, but left *lege felix* uncorrected). English (and Irish) monks were often wanderers, with no 'abiding city'; it is hard to localize their handiwork. Still, the more plates that can be published to exhibit Anglosaxon script of the Continent, the nearer we shall get to that chapter in the 'magnum opus'.

While nothing, practically nothing, has been done for the localisation of Anglosaxon script, Continental minuscule has not been quite neglected. Thanks to Delisle's 'Mémoire sur l'école calligraphique de Tours au ix siècle' (in Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions XXXII), Paris 1885, palaeographers can say without hesitation: This ninth century MS. comes from the Tours scriptorium; but few can recognize a MS. of Fleury, Rheims, etc., since of these scriptoriums it may be said 'carent vate sacro'. Delisle's work on Tours has been continued by Rand and Howe 'The Vatican Livy and the Script of Tours' (with 14 plates; in Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome I), Bergamo 1917, a monograph in which I miss the mention of two MSS. which seem to me to be mile-stones. One is the British Museum MS., Egerton 2831 Jerome on Isaiah. It is partly in Continental, partly in Anglosaxon minuscule; and this combination seems to have suggested to the New Palaeographical Society editors (two plates,

nos. 107 and 108) that it was written in Alcuin's time. Anglosaxon script at Tours before Alcuin's arrival seemed impossible. Why impossible? To me it appears that the script cannot be later than the middle of the eighth century. The other MS. is that mentioned in Palae. Lat. II 28. the 74 leaves distributed among no fewer than a score of scribes, Cologne 106 Alcuin Miscellanea. This *must* be the MS. hurriedly prepared for Arn by Alcuin in 802. It is a milestone for the Alcuin-stage of Tours minuscule. and I wish that Prof. W. Meyer had carried out his intention of publishing all its twenty variations of hand, Anglosaxon and Continental.

When a calligraphic type has finally been evolved at a scriptorium — the Tours minuscule of Alcuin and his successors, the Verona minuscule of Pacifico, the Cologne minuscule of Hildebald — localisation is easy. But the earlier products of the scriptorium, written before this happy consummation had been reached, do not proclaim their birth-place so unmistakeably. We can claim the British Museum MS. just mentioned, Egerton 2831 (of "saec. viii med."), and the Tours Eugippius (Paris, nouv. acq. 1575, of "saec. viii in.") for the library of St Martin. But if we claim them for the St Martin scriptorium, there is a risk of our claim being challenged. That is a difficulty which threatens any investigation of a scriptorium's history. Take for exemple the Lorsch MSS. in the Palatine collection at the Vatican Library. A large number, belonging to the ninth century, shew a type which we are ready to call the Lorsch type of minuscule, but the earlier specimens, written before this type had been evolved, do not so clearly announce their origin. It is possible that, as palaeographical knowledge increases, we may be able to detect, some birth-mark even in those earlier specimens. At present, we must treat them with due caution, although the balance of probability is always in favour of the Lorsch origin of any MS. of the Lorsch library.

The abbreviation-symbols current at each great writing-centre should be collected; and I must point out some difficulties in the way. A full collection is necessary. The short lists which accompany the plates of Chroust or the Palaeographical Society are inadequate. For example, Liebaert, in

his account of the Liber Diurnus of the Vatican Archives (New Pal. Soc. II 13) does not mention the 'us'-symbol in *gerimus*, the downward cross-stroke symbol (Notae Latinae, p. 385), which may (or may not) point to Northern rather than Central Italy. And he omits mention of its abbreviation-symbol of the final syllable *ur* (Notae Latinae, p. 378). The use of this 'ur'-symbol proves that the MS. cannot be so late as the second half of the ninth century, the date assigned by Mabillon and Petra, and favoured by Liebaert. Further, the list must be minutely accurate. In his list of the Verona abbreviation-symbols (in Zentralbl. Bibl. XXVII 531; cf. XXVIII 259) Spagnolo made a slip which threatened to obscure the chief Verona criterion. At many scriptoriums mā denotes 'mea'; at Verona alone mā denotes 'misericordia'; and this use of mā 'misericordia' is proof positive that a MS. was written at Verona. Unluckily Spagnolo (on p. 533) mistook māe 'misericordiae' in one occurrence (fol. 40 of Verona XLIII) for 'meae', a most unfortunate blunder which however he corrected in the next volume of the Zentralblatt (The sentence in which the abbreviated word occurs is: egentis etenim cor doctrinae sermo non penetrat si hunc apud eius animum manus *misericordiae* non commendat). But the list, though aiming at fulness, must exclude what I call in my Notae Latinae (chap. III) capricious abbreviation and technical symbols; indeed, it may safely omit most Nomina Sacra (ibid., chap. II). It is mere waste of paper to record the thousand-and-one varieties of the abbreviation of *presbyter*, *propheta*, *apostolus*, *evangelium* — et hoc genus omne. And the abbreviation of *Deus*, *Dominus*, etc. is the same at every scriptorium. Further, if any symbol is of rare occurrence, its rarity should be mentioned, since it may be a mere interloper, transferred mechanically by a scribe from his exemplar. In all collection of abbreviation-symbols there is a danger of including symbols which were not really current at the scriptorium. This danger has not been sufficiently avoided in my Notae Latinae. At first I had a notion that the 'ancient notae' maintained themselves with little divergence in the cursive or unconventional script (what the Germans call Bedarfsschrift) of all countries, and that the rarity of this or that symbol in this

or that locality merely reflected the unwillingness of scribes to allow it to wander from unconventional into calligraphic or book-script. The Insular 'haec'-symbol in that early specimen of Beneventan minuscule, Paris 7530, seemed to me merely a promotion of a cursive Beneventan symbol into Beneventan book-script. Too late I noticed that this and other occasional Anglosaxon symbols are confined to that portion (foll. 290-301) of the MS. which contains an English work, Bede de Orthographia. They must have been transferred directly from an English-script exemplar, possibly brought by Sturmi of Fulda to Monte Cassino (cf. Loew's Beneventan Script, p. 5), just as the German gloss *forboten* (instead of *forbotan*) has been transferred by the Monte Cassino scribe. (It glosses the word *interdictum*; see Keil's edition of Bede's work in Gram. Lat. VII p. 271, line 18). If a second edition of my Notae Latinae appears, the occasional symbols in all scripts will have to be revised. For example, I fancy that a re-examination of Ivrea 42 would shew that its Insular symbols (of *haec*, *tantum*, etc.) appear only in the first part, which contains Bede's treatise on the Computus. All the older MSS. of the Liber Glossarum (or Glossarium Ansileubi) retain (some more, some less) traces of the Spanish abbreviation used in that MS. of Isidore which the compiler of the glossary assigned to his scribes for excerption; e. g. a Lorsch MS., Vat. Pal. 1773, retains the Spanish 'per' symbol in an Isidore excerpt on fol. 31^r: de quo Virgilius 'longum *per* inane secutus'. Alien symbols like these must not be included in a list of the symbols current at Lorsch scriptorium (Similarly aum 'autem' on foll. 77^r, 78^v of Vat. Pal. 1746 comes from the Spanish archetype or exemplar of Iulianus Toletanus).

This preamble has been long, for many difficulties had to be mentioned. But these difficulties should not prevent the investigation altogether. Even if it fails here and there, at least a number of MSS. will have been discussed and described. And that will help the progress of Palaeography.

II. — The Library of St Nazarius.

This Benedictine abbey of the Heppenheim district, in the diocese of Mayence, not far from Worms, was founded in 764 by Chrodegang of Metz, who sent to it some monks of Gorze (near Metz). It soon became one of the most important abbeys of Germany, its possessions stretching to Holland, the Ardennes, Alsace, Lorraine, etc. (See Fr. Huelsen: Die Besitzungen des Klosters Lorsch in der Karolingerzeit. Berlin, 1913). How its splendid library was transferred in the sixteenth century by the Count Palatine (Kurfuerst) to the Palatina at Heidelberg, and thence passed in 1623, as spoils of war, to the Vaticana at Rome, has been told by Falk 'Beitraege zur Rekonstruktion der alten Bibliotheca laureshamensis' (Beiheft XXVI of the Zentralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen, Leipzig, 1902, pp. 47-75). And Lehmann 'Iohannes Sichardus' (IV i of Traube's Quellen u. Untersuchungen z. lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, Munich 1912, pp. 133-158) has shewn how its manuscript treasures were used by sixteenth century editors. Good fortune has preserved for us two early Lorsch copies of the library catalogue (both in Vat. Pal. lat. 1877), one of which (on foll. 1-34) was written in the first part of the ninth century (see pl. i), the other (on foll. 44-79) somewhat later (see pl. ii). And the single quire of a (summary) catalogue prefixed to Pal. lat. 57 is equally old. They have been printed in Becker's Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui (Bonn, 1885, nos. 37 and 38), and Gottlieb 'Ueber Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken' has attempted to identify with their items the older extant MSS. of the Lorsch Library. This identification I reproduce in this article, but within inverted commas, for it cannot be infallible. Becker's and Gottlieb's work will be improved in the great collection of German and Swiss medieval library-catalogues of which vol. I (Constance and Chur) by Lehmann appeared in 1918. A sample of the improvement has recently been given by Lehmann in a Dutch publication 'Het Boek' (1923, pp. 207-213). After the earlier of the two Lorsch library catalogues in Pal. lat. 1877 stands a subsequent addition

(foll. 33v-34r), a list of some two dozen MSS. which is entitled: Hos libros repperimus in Gannettias quos Gerwardus ibidem reliquit et ab inde huc illos transtulimus. This Gerward, who left lands and books to the abbey in the year 814 (during the abbacy of Adalung), lived at Gent in Holland (near Nimegen); and since one of the books in the list (Vat. Pal. lat. 210, the famous uncial Augustine) has on fol. 1 a list in Anglosaxon half-uncial (of "saec. viii ant.") of some twenty books, Lehmann connects Gerward's library with the books brought by English missionaries to Holland, and reminds us that the Vienna uncial Livy (Vienna 15), a former inmate of the Lorsch library (though not mentioned in the two catalogues) belonged to Theutbert, the eighth century bishop of Utrecht (iste codex est Theatberti episcopi de Dorostat, fol. 193v) It was studied at Lorsch by Simon Grynaeus in the 16th century and used by him for the editio princeps of Livy XLI-XLV.

The latest of Gerward's books must be Vat. Pal. lat. 234, foll. 114-272 Augustine on Genesis, since it uses the 2-form of the 'ur'-symbol (see below). On the reverse side of its fly-leaf (fol. 114v) stands a contemporary entry (by Flotbert?): liber Gerwardi quem ei scripsit Flotbertus clericus suus. The omission-marks in this MS. are:

(in text) hd or hid

(in margin) hp or hip or (fol. 115r) hic p.

Various forms of the Lorsch 'ex libris' entry are mentioned in Falk's article, e. g. in verse:

> Reddere Nazario me, lector kare, memento,
> Alterius domini ius quia nolo pati;

e. g. in prose:

> Iste liber est monasterii b. Nazarii in Laurissa;

or:

> Codex de monasterio sci Nazarii in Lauresham.

Although the fly-leaf on which such entries usually stand is easily lost, quite a large number of MSS. have managed to retain their 'ex libris' notice, and Falk's list reveals the dispersion of this famous library. Two MSS. have found their

way back to Heidelberg and are now in the University Library, 864 (Gregory of Tours, "saec. ix".) = "Becker 37, 87" and 894 (Florus, "saec. ix", = "Becker 37, 93"). Berlin (Staatbibl., Phillipps. 131; see Rose's catalogue) has the splendid Calendars (foll. 1^r-11^v written between 801 and 804) which, as Falk remarks, with their numerous entries attest the study of astronomy at Lorsch. Montpellier has the codex Pithoeanus of Juvenal and Persius (saec. ix, = "Becker 37, 427"; see Chatelain's Paléogr. Class. Lat. pl. cxxvii, a plate which suggests that both text and scholia were written in the Lorsch scriptorium), with the 'ex libris' note: Codex Sancti Nazarii Martiris Christi, and (twice) the malediction:

> Qui cupit hunc librum sibimet contendere privum,
> Hic Flegetonteas patiatur sulphure flammas.

The Vienna Livy has been already mentioned; and Chroust (XI pl. 5) exhibits Lorsch script of the years 795 and 796 in his plate of foll. 1^v-2^r of the Annales Laureshamenses (Vienna 515, formerly Hist. prof 646) written by various Lorsch scribes from the year 794 to the year 803. Lehmann (Joh. Sich., p. 138) adds to Falk's list, e. g. some Bodleian MSS.

This article confines itself (excepting a mention of Paris 16668) to the ample material provided by the MSS. with the Lorsch 'ex libris' note in the Palatine collection (also Pal. lat 202; see below) at the Vatican Library, and selects from them for consideration those ninth century codices whose claim to Lorsch parentage is least likely to be challenged. Of the Palatine Latin collection only numbers 1-921 are included in vol. I (published in 1886) of the Catalogue, the only volume yet published. I have used also (but not got any help from) a transcript (in the Vatican Library) of the unpublished (and incomplete) catalogue of Palatini latini by Mau (and Zangemeister). That catalogue, now at Heidelberg, is described by Sillib in Zentralbl. Bibl. XXXIX [1922], p. 417.

III. — The Scriptorium of St Nazarius in the Ninth Century.

A. The earlier MSS. I have already mentioned the similarity of script and vellum as claiming for the Lorsch scriptorium a number of the ninth century Palatini latini which shew the Lorsch library 'ex libris' note. And in the Revue des Bibliothèques XXIV [1914], p. 6 I have called a Lorsch peculiarity the omission-mark *h l* (with a cross-stroke) though (as will be shewn below) this was not the only omission-mark used at the scriptorium of St Nazarius. Of course, its appearance in a MS. proves only that the MS. was corrected at Lorsch, but when it is contemporary with the text it proves also that the MS. was written there. I treat separately the MSS. written in the earlier part of the century, and I know no better test for separating these than their use of the apostrophe-symbol for the syllable *ur*. With the evidence collected in my Notae Latinae pp. 372 sqq., can anyone deny that the change from t' 'tur' to t' 'tus', t² 'tur' was made in Continental script in the early part of the ninth century? I have put there all the evidence then at my disposal and I can now add the following: in Vat. Reg. 846 (Orléans, before 814), the apostrophe; in Autun 5 and Lyons 378 (both Lyons, 840-852), the 2-mark; in Milan H 150 inf. (Bobbio, c. 810), the apostrophe; in Milan Trivulz. 688 (Novara, before 800) the apostrophe and also the arch, as in the Vatican Liber Diurnus (in which m' denotes *mur* while *mus* is expressed by the downward cross stroke through the tail of *m*); besides the Tours Livy, the Leyden Nonius used the apostrophe. The evidence seems to me quite overwhelming; and if any one pleads that a transcript may occasionally reproduce its exemplar's symbols, I reply: Not this symbol; for t' came to denote *tus* instead of *tur*, and the transcriber would feel the necessity for distinction. Notice that the earlier of the two Lorsch catalogues in Pal. lat. 1877 (that catalogue to which was subsequently appended a list of Gerward's books) uses the apostrophe, while the later uses the 2-mark. And the list

(in the same volume, Pal. lat. 1877) of Fulda MSS., a list strangely assigned by Falk to the twelfth century, uses the apostrophe. This Fulda list seems to be a stray quire, presumably of a full catalogue of the Fulda library and written at Fulda, not at Lorsch.

Of these ninth century products of the Lorsch scriptorium, with sturdy script on strong, well-scraped, whiteish vellum, script which still looks as if it had just come from the scribe's hand, I begin with the earlier group. And I cannot begin with a better example (though it lacks the *h l* omission-mark) than.

Pal. lat. 814 (= " Becker 37, 80 ") Josephus, in small folio (text 28.5 × 23 cm., i. e. 11 ¼ × 9 in.), foll. 145, by two scribes (1-72, 73-145). Not merely the symbol t' 'tur' but the symbol om 'omnes' too is unsuitable to the date assigned by Stevenson (and Mau). The second scribe conscientiously noted (at the top right-hand corner of the first page of the quire) the day on which he began (or finished ?) each quire; and, in spite of the ruthlessness of binders, we can still read (113ʳ, imperfect) *viii* (? *xviii kl. apr.*), (121ʳ) *xi kl. apr.*, (129ʳ) *v kl. apr.*, (137ʳ) *non. apr.*, and learn that the rate at which the two columns of these large pages were steadily filled by his laborious pen was not too rapid. Plate iii (in natural size, like all plates in all Parts of this journal) shews his script in the upper half of fol. 121ʳ, with this dating in the top corner. Another interesting thing in this MS. is the marginal index, or rather marginal notes calling attention to notable points in the text, e. g. (2ᵛ i) dicit Adam diluvium prophetasse, (2ᵛ ii) angelos dicit accipisse filias hominum. They are contemporary with the text (as is shewn by their use of suprascript *u*, e. g. loq*u*ta, and of t' 'tur') but are written (though the photograph obscures this feature) in a thin, scratchy script, and admit far more abbreviation (e. g. dt 'dicit', loqr 'loquitur') than the text of this part. (They last only as far as fol. 39). They are thus a continuation of the ancient practice which we find in uncial and half-uncial MSS. of, say, the sixth century. The marginalia in these ancient MSS. are written in a small, fine script which we call 'ancient minuscule', and which is the direct ancestor (or one direct ancestor) of eighth

century minuscule. And these ancient marginalia were forced by the limits of space to admit the 'ancient notae', the ancient abbreviation-symbols which were excluded from books (at least, from most books) until the gates of eighth century minuscule were opened to them (most freely in Ireland; see my Notae Latinae, pp. 1-4). Plate iv (upper half of fol. 27[r]) shews this marginalia-script. In these pages the text does not use abbreviation to any great extent, though to a greater than most of the Lorsch MSS. of this time (in which some of the symbols appear only at the ends of lines, to avoid awkward syllable-division). But before the middle of the MS. is reached the need for saving space has asserted itself; the writing becomes more crowded, and abbreviation more common. On the 9[th] (?) century distich by a Fulda hand recording a loan of this book to Fulda, see Falk.

Pal. lat. 1753, Marii Victorini Ars Grammatica; Probae Cento; Aldhelmi Ars Metrica; Symphosii Aenigmata; Bonifatius de Metris (with the *h l* omission-mark), in oblong quarto, foll. 118, by many scribes. (The scribe of the sixth quire writes his last half-line in cursive, fol. 47[v]. Anglosaxon script is used in a marginal supplement on foll. 99[r] and 100[r]). Keil (Gram. lat. VI edits Victorinus with the help of this MS., and two others (Paris 7539 and Valenciennes M. 6. 10), and gives in his preface a full list of its contents. My article on it ('A New Clue to the Emendation of Latin Texts' in Classical Philology XI [1916] 270) is accompanied by a plate (in natural size) of fol. 4[v] (= Keil, p. 12, line 22 — p. 14, line 10). I argue that it was transcribed directly from an uncial exemplar which used 'ancient notae', e. g. AT 'autem', 2 'contra', ET 'etiam', I (with oblique cross-stroke) 'inter', QU 'quamvis', QS 'quasi', QA 'quia', QD 'quidem', TM 'tamen'. The Lorsch transcription soon realized the hopelessness of the attempt to interpret these obsolete symbols or even to distinguish them from mere isolated letters of the alphabet. For example, in the sentence (on the photographed page): nam 'concussus', QU a quatio habeat originem . . . at tamen per C quam per Q scribuntur, how could a scribe distinguish QU, the abbreviation-symbol of 'quamvis', from QU, the letter-group? The transcribers (nearly always) bowed to the inevitable, and

contented themselves with reproducing exactly (in uncial letters) the symbols of the exemplar. Thanks to the conscientiousness (or the timidity) of these German copyists, we find the lost uncial exemplar, with its 'ancient notae', mirrored in this transcript, and learn that 'ancient notae' were not (as had been previously supposed) restricted to law-books (e. g. the uncial Verona Gaius), but were allowed in Grammars (and, presumably, other texts of a technical nature). Their use in cheap copies even of non-technical texts was revealed by the discovery of the Cicero-speeches papyrus fragments (Oxyr. Pap. 1097 + 1251 + Pap. greci e lat. 20). These fragments seem to belong to the fifth century, since Greek documents of that date were found beside then. The date of the Victorinus exemplar cannot be determined, nor may we ascribe to that uncial MS. (rather than to the archetype) the subscription FELICITER UTERE, STEPHANE SCRIPTOR, ET LECTOR (cf. the ending of the first half, FELICITER SCRIPTORI ET LECTORI). The 'ancient notae' do not appear in the part with Probae Cento Virgilianus, a part which contains (fol. 65ʳ) a German gloss (*andbrast* 'enituit' in the line: enituit loeto tanto surgentibus undis), nor yet in the Aldhelm – (cf. Ehwald's edition, pref. 37) and Boniface-parts. This discussion of early abbreviation is my excuse for including in the list here two other MSS. of the early part of the ninth century, although they seem not to be mentioned in the early catalogues and have not the *h l* omission-mark.

Pal. lat. 276 Isidorus in libros Regum et Beda in libros Regum, quarto, foll. 65. The Bede exemplar must have been an English MS. of Bede's own life-time. For this transcript, partly by mistaking the obsolete abbreviation-symbols, partly by reproducing them mechanically, enables us to ascribe to the exemplar such early Insular symbols (see my Notae Latinae) as: qs 'quasi' (54ʳ, 55ʳ), at 'autem' (54ᵛ, 57ᵛ), et 'etiam' (54ᵛ, 56ʳ, 57ʳ, etc.), eg 'ergo' (55ʳ, 60ᵛ), sp 'super' (57ᵛ, 58ʳ), sla 'saecula' (62ʳ), tm 'tamen' (62ᵛ), pt 'post' (miscopied 'preter' 58ʳ, 62ᵛ), ppi 'populi' (54ᵛ, 63ᵛ). These symbols are usually expanded, or altered to the ninth century equivalent, by a corrector. On 57ᵛ *in tertio ordine* has been miscopied *interque ordine* (with the 'que'-symbol, *q* with oblique stroke

through the shaft). Beeson 'Isidor-Studien' p. 140 doubts the identification with Becker 37. 335.

Pal. lat. 1588 Rhetorici, in large quarto, foll. 149 (but 39-41 are a later insertion), by many scribes. Good fortune has preserved for us the exemplar. It was an uncial MS of Cologne library (now Darmstadt 166), but whether written at Cologne or written elsewhere and brought to Cologne, who can say? Let us hope that Dr. Lowe can, in his forthcoming book on Latin uncial. The 'notae publicae' of the uncial exemplar are often retained in the Lorsch transcript, e. g. (8^v = Fortunat. 95, 22 H.) *c. d.* (expanded in the margin to 'contra dicit'). Ex uno disce omnes. Generally the Lorsch transcript is all that survives of a text of old time, an uncial text of the ancient world. Our imagination must put beside the transcript an uncial exemplar, possibly brought, as Lehmann suggests, by some studious English pilgrim from Rome. In this transcript Victorinus is followed, without a break (except Incipit Liber Alius) by the astrological work of Censorinus, De Die Natali.

And now that the more interesting of the earlier ninth century Lorsch MSS. have been described, I will go through the full list in order of sequence:

Pal. lat. 57, foll. 8-172 (= "Becker 37, 76") Pauline Epistles; Augustine's Homilies (fragment), in octavo (23 × 15 cm.). Prefixed is one quire of a ninth century (summary) catalogue of Lorsch library. This catalogue was in a smaller size of octavo (21.5 × 14.5 cm.). Fol. 8, the fly-leaf of the Pauline Epistles, has later (eleventh century) accounts for church furniture (the beginning of these is lost). They begin now with the words: ruodinge quod aecclesiae rebus opera nostra augmentatum est. They end: praeterea quod uuodilo clero nostro dedit; illud etiam quod domnus ..uldinc huson et aruite nobis satis naviter adquisivit. It is an eleventh century hand which has added on the blank space (foll. 163^v-164^r), left between the Pauline Epistles and Augustine's Homilies, the Pig's Legacy, *Testamentum Grunnii Corococte Porcelli.*

Pal. lat. 175 (= "Becker 37, 204") Jerome on Ecclesiastes (with the *h l* omission-mark), in square quarto, foll. 66, with two columns to the page. The whole of fol. 2^r is filled by

the title (in black uncials). Fol. 1, an alien, is a leaf (with figures) of Dynamius' Division of the sciences. This tractate of Dynamius was favoured at Lorsch, for we find it in full in Pal. lat. 1746 (see below), beginning at fol. 59^r (DINAMIUS GRAMMATICUS AD DISCIPULUM SUUM); and a scheme of the division appears also on fol 108^v of Pal. lat. 1341. The last page of the MS. has a list (by a tenth century hand, according to Reifferscheid, Bibl. Patr. lat. Ital. I p. 277; but it may be earlier): Breve de libris que (*sic*) Heilradi fuerunt. They are some fiteen, mostly theological; but also *de grammatico* (sic) *II*. Underneath is a record of the destruction by fire in 1360 of the town of Heppenheim. Both the list and the record are printed by Reifferscheid.

Pal. lat. 188 (= " Becker 37, 120 ") Augustinus de Doctrina Christiana (with contemporary uncial entry on the last fly-leaf ADALUNGO ABBAS, i. e. the fifth abbot of Lorsch, 805-838), in oblong quarto, foll. 81, by more than one scribe.

Pal. lat. 198 (= " Becker 37, 108 or 109 ") Augustini Speculum (with the *h l* omission-mark), in square quarto, foll. 93, with broad margins.

Pal. lat. 201 (= " Becker 37, 104 ") Augustinus contra Faustum Manichaeum (with the *h l* omission-mark), in quarto or small folio, foll. 198, by many scribes. This MS., like Pal. lat. 814, has marginalia (by a contemporary, not the scribe) attesting keen and careful study. They are usually enclosed in a square or marked off by a paragraphus, e. g. (31^r) sollicite lege ut sex aetates saeculi cognoscas, (84^v) ecce veteri et novo testamento convinceris; et non erubescis, Fauste?, (30^r) tam grande mole testimonii, Fauste, oppressus quo ibis?, (67^r) hic Augustinus seras claustra portarum dicit; nos eras (?), (75^r) quam occultum testimonium enoclate (!) ostendisti, (99^r) hic dicit apud Hebreos a solis scribis litteras Hebreas licuisse conscribi, (124^v) caute, lector, lege ut hinc ostendere possis angelos tunc esse factos quando lumen fecit. At the end of one scribe's portion (fol. 45) the writing becomes cramped and full of abbreviations, which hitherto have not been much in evidence. At the end of another's (fol. 145) the writing is spaced, so as to occupy more room. At the end, in rude capitals (not by the scribe)

Hoc qui Lazarium libro fraudaverit almum
Sentiat ultricem districti iudicis iram.

Pal. lat. 246 (= "Becker 37, 224") Gregorii Moralia XI-XVI (with the *h l* omission-mark), in square quarto or small folio, foll. 110, by more than one scribe. Fol. 1v (i. e. the verso of the fly-leaf) is occupied by the title in large red capitals. This lettering is also used for the Explicit of Book XIII (fol. 47r).

Pal. lat. 249 (= "Becker 37, 228") Gregorii Moralia XXXII-XXXV (with the *h l* omission-mark), in oblong quarto, foll. 150, by many scribes.

Pal. lat. 266 (= "Becker 37, 235 or 236") Gregorii Epistolae (with the *h l* omission-mark), in oblong quarto, foll. 126, by more than one scribe.

Pal. lat. 276 (see above).

Pal. lat. 284 Bede on Proverbs and on Tobit (with the *h l* omission-mark), in large square quarto, foll. 77, by more than one scribe. The text begins on fol. 1r, but the verso of the preceding fly-leaf is occupied by the title in coloured capitals: INCIPIT EXPOSITIO VENERABILIS BAEDAE PRESBYTERI IN LIBRO SALOMONIS QUOD DICITUR PROVERBIA. This presentation of the title is normal in products of the Lorsch scriptorium. The Tobit commentary begins on fol. 70r. On the the twelfth century entry see Falk.

Pal. lat. 285 Beda contra Julianum et in Cantica Canticorum; Greg. in Cant. Cant., Moralia, etc. (with the *h l* omission-mark), in large octavo or oblong quarto, foll. 150, by more than one scribe. I ascribe this MS. to the early part of the ninth century on the evidence of the script, for the 'ur' — abbreviation is not found. Abbreviation is rare throughout, though we get a glimpse at a symbol used in the exemplar by mean of the transcriber's thrice repeated error (61r, 99v, 127r) *tamen* for *tantum*. The Gregory-extracts begin on 139v.

Pal. lat. 290, foll. 32-54 Ambrose on Tobit (with the *h l* omission-mark). The Explicit (54r) is in rustic capitals (with blobs of red in them) LIBER TOBIS (*sic*) EXPLICIT FELICITER SCRIBENTI PAX LEGENTI VITA.

Pal. lat. 814 (see above).

Pal. lat. 822 (= "Becker 32, 79") Rufinus Hist. Euseb., in quarto, foll. 175, by more than one scribe. The adjuration

at the end of Book V is in majuscules (adiuro te quicumque hos descripseris libros, etc.); probably a feature of the exemplar, an eighth century codex (to judge from nm 'nostrum' in this adjuration).

Pal. lat. 920 (= "Becker 37, 88") Jordanes, in octavo, foll. 106.

Pal. lat 1341, foll. 2-60 (= "Becker 37, 423") Boethius de Arithmetica (with the *h l* omission-mark), by more than one scribe. The fly-leaf (fol. 1) contains (see Neues Archiv IV 409) a letter of Theotrochus diaconus to Ootbertus presbyter on religious usage at Fulda (Theotroch became abbot of Lorsch in 863) and (like the list of Fulda books in Pal. lat. 1877 and the playful distich on the last page of Pal. lat. 814) is evidence of connexion between Lorsch and Boniface's foundation. The Boethius approaches to calligraphy with its red mathematical figures, etc., and has been carefully revised by a contemporary corrector. It attests the honour paid to scientific study at Lorsch.

Pal. lat. 1588 (see above).

Pal. lat. 1719, part I, foll. 1-19 Aldhelmi et Symphosii Aenigmata, by two scribes.

Part II, foll. 35-59 Varia, e. g. de Ponderibus (= Isid. Etym. XVI xxv), etc.; Fortunatianus Rhet. I, 1-14. The Rhetoric-part (50^v-59^r) (with its slanting *h* and arched suprascript m-stroke) suggests a Burgundian scribe. It has sketches, e. g. at Fortunat. I, 14 quod pictores consueverint multa pingere et publice proponere (59^r) of a boy riding on a crane and the epigram: Vidi equitantem puerum, Cuï *(disyll.)* caballus gruis erat, Et ipse scurro cum sodalibus suis.

In Aldhelm's conundrum (no. XI) on the bellows his extraordinary *poalum* (see my edition of the Corpus Glossary; note on P 501) is wisely reproduced by *folles* (2^v) DE FOLLIBUS: Flatibus alternis vescor, etc. (so in some other MSS.; see Ehwald's app. crit.).

Pal. lat. 1746 (= "Becker 37, 416 + 417") Grammatici (see list of contents in Keil Gram. lat. V 313; they include Boniface's Schoolgrammar), in large quarto, foll. 184 by many scribes. The Incipits of Tatuinus (99^r-126^r) are written in Greek uncials (121^v, 123^v, etc.).

Pal. lat. 1753 (see above).

Pal. lat. 1773, foll. 22-349 (= Becker 37, 490) Glossarium Ansileubi or Liber Glossarum, in large folio, by many scribes. The title-heading is merely INCIPIUNT GLOSAE, but the true title, (did it stand on the verso of the fly leaf, and is that leaf now lost?) is rather that stated in the two catalogues, of Pal. lat. 1877, Liber Grandis Glosarum ex dictis diversorum coadunatus in uno codice. Since I have rotographs of the whole of this MS., I will describe it at some length. The preceding leaves (1-21), which contain (1-18^{r}) a (Glossary of Bible-names and (18^{r}-21) a Glossary of Greek words, are a later addition (with the 2-symbol of *ur*). The part with which we are concerned may belong to the end of our period, so freely is the apostrophe-symbol also used for *us* (after any letter). But that it belongs to the earlier portion of the ninth century, and that Wilmanns (cf. Goetz 'Der Liber Glossarum' p. 18 = 228) was quite wrong in ascribing it to the tenth, is shewn not merely by the abbreviation t' 'tur' but by the use (by one of the scribes especially) of the s-form of suprascript *u* (Palae. Lat. I p. 56) and (by another) of other cursive usages which were in fashion in the eighth century but were avoided in the ninth, e. g. suprascript *a* (Palae. Lat. I p. 9). A number of scribes were employed on this enormous volume (the text measures 30 or 31 cm. × 38 or 39 cm., i. e. about 12 × 15 in.; each page having three columns); and the type of script, though similar, is by no means uniform. Greek words are written fairly well in Greek letters (without a stroke above). Although not so neatly penned as the Corbie (ab-script) MS. (contemporary or slightly older), Paris 11529-11530, the Lorsch MS. is quite as valuable a witness to the text; and if some good fortune had preserved for us the Tours (?) MS. from which are derived Tours 850 and Vendome 113-113bis, the trio would make a thoroughly satisfactory basis for an edition. All honour to Abbot Adalung for procuring so promptly this great glossary (a Corbie compilation, I think, of Charlemagne's time) and getting it transcribed so faithfully! The chief blemish of the transcript is the mistake made by the (very careful) copyist of (part of) the NO-section (foll. 209 sqq.). After copying two items correctly:

Non potui: ita non in potestate habui,
Non potui: non valui,

he skipped a leaf of his exemplar (was it there transposed?) and continued with O-words. These O-intruders end in the middle of the first column of fol. 210ʳ:

Omri: interpretatur crispans meus,

and a (subsequent?) corrector has written below: *hic finit*, as well as (at the third line of the page): *istud per omnia in sequenti O scribi debuit*. The Lorsch transcriber is clearly the guilty person, for the Milan MS., Ambr. B 36 inf. (written in North Italy presumably at Bobbio, about the middle of the ninth century) a 'frater gemellus' of Pal. lat. 1773, does not share the error. Nor does it share the omission of 69 items (Pretia — Previus) in the PR-section, an omission whose cause is doubtful. Since the item preceding Pretia ends fol. 251ᵛ, and the item following Previus begins fol. 252ʳ, I suspect that the transcriber miscalculated the space at his disposal and had to write these 69 items on an inserted slip on parchment. This slip was subsequently lost. A leaf too has been lost in the AB-section (Ablatum — Abstrusa). Most of fol. 89ᵛ was left blank, the scribe having ended his allotted portion of text in the middle of the first column (the final item is Cristate: cassides, while the CRO-words begin fol. 90ʳ): and the blank has been (long after) utilized for a long entry. Century after century this dictionary has been in use at Lorsch, as we see from the 'emendations' (usually wrong) and additions by various hands of various dates. The double quire-numbering clearly seen at the foot of fol. 210ᵛ, . VII . q(uaternio) and . XXIIII . may point to a three-volume exemplar, like the exemplar of Paris 11529-11530.

The use of a symbol like the Greek letter Theta, to indicate glosses of Greek words, is a feature also of Paris 11529-30, and therefore was a usage of the (Corbie?) compiler (similarly a triangle of dots indicates glosses on Hebrew words, i. e. Bible-names, etc.; see Goetz l. c.). It would facilitate the composition of Greek-Latin glossaries (like that on foll. 18ʳ-21), glossaries which furnished many a so-called 'Greek scholar' of the time with the only Greek he ever knew. And

the symbol like uncial Zeta (our Z) seems to have been the compiler's device for indicating the coherence of the various portion of a long gloss, e. g. 210^{v} in the long gloss Nota, called from Isid. Etym. I xxi):

Z Adversa cum obolo, etc.
Z Diple superne obolata, etc.
Z Recta et aversa superne obolata, etc.

or 209^{v} (in the long gloss Omne et Totum, culled from Isid. Diff. I 402):

Z Ita ut omnis homo omnes homines omne pecus dicimus.
Z Ergo totus homo si ad corpus referamus,
Z Omnis homo si de universis, etc.

Can it have been meant for the Diple recta et adversa (av-?) superne obolata (Isid. Etym. I xxi 20 ponitur finita loco suo monade, significatque similem sequentem quoque esse)? At any rate, it was a wise precaution against the 'splitting' of long glosses, since the ideal glossary would assign a separate line to each separate item of information. But a usage not found in Paris 11529-11530 is the cross at the end of the irreducible minimum of interpretation; e. g. 210^{r} (in the gloss Omonima, i. e. Homonyma, culled from Isid. Etym. I vii 15) a cross stands after *Omonima hoc est uninomia*, separating this brief interpretation from the longer explanation which follows (eo quod sit in uno nomine significatio plurima, etc.). It would facilitate the composition of abridged editions of this gigantic dictionary-encyclopaedia.

IV. — Excursus on MSS. of Fulgentius and Hist. August.

Helm (pref. ix of Teubner edition 1898) mentions as the best MSS. of Fulgentius (Myth., Virg. Cont., Serm. Ant.) two 'fratres gemelli', Vat. Pal. 1578 and Vat Reg. 1462. Unfortunately he ascribes the second to the eleventh century. Sickel (proll. 14 Lib. Diurn.) ascribed it to the eighth; Bannister (P. M. V.) calls it 'Scrittura longobardica del sec. ix, la seconda parte da un copista posteriore, ma di stilo somiglian-

tissimo '. The second part (foll. 39-50) is the famous collection (three lists) of Notae Juris, published by Keil Gram. lat. IV 300). The blank last page (50v) has been used at a later time for that precious relic of Friuli Ladin, the ' Alba '. Bannister associates the script. of the MS. with the script of the Cividale Paulus Diaconus. It is a form of what may be called ' pre-Carolingian ' North Italian minuscule, current before the adoption of what is called Carolingian minuscule.

Pal. lat. 1578 was written in the early part of the ninth century (it has the apostrophe-symbol for *ur*) at Lorsch (it seems to be Becker's 37, 431) and, to judge from its occasional Insular abbreviation-symbols for *eius* (Helm 96 20), *enim* (Helm. 49, 2), *est* (Helm 93, 12) *quae* (Helm 102, 1), *quasi* (qsi frequently), *tamen* (tn Helm 15, 15, etc.), from an exemplar in Insular script. It has not a Lorsch ' ex libris '. Helm should have followed its presentation of the poem (on p. 7 of his edition) in long trochaic lines (like ' Tiberianus ' Trochaics, but less correct), e. g.

⟨H⟩innientis ⟨a⟩et⟨h⟩r⟨a⟩e cursu quam produxit ungula

(an imitation of ' Tiberianus ' phrase: Pegasus hinnientem transvolaturus aethram), for the North Italian MS. (which uses capitals for this poem) agrees with the Lorsch MS. Helm seems to me to follow too meticulously the spelling of the common original of the pair when he prints *etre* here, in contrast to *ethram* on p. 33, line 16 (in the Tiberianus quotation). Surely *t* for *th* is a common scribal error. Yet it has misled Helm at 13, 9:

Iam Phoebus disiungit equos, iam *Cynthia* iungit;
Quasque soror linquit, frater pede temperat undas,

where Helm actually prints *Quintia!* ' Who is *Quintia?* what is she? ' that she should be associated with the Sun-god?

On the other hand, the spelling of another MS. of this date (Helm says. " saec. XIII "!!):

Pal. lat. 886, foll. 164-187 (= Becker 37, 90) Fulgentius de Aetatibus Mundi, might have been followed with advantage, (Helm 129, 3) presertim, (129, 4) questu, etc. for (as Helm recognized too late) the letter A is tabooed by Fulgentius in

the Preface as well as in the first chapter of this rhetorical tour-de-force. Abbreviation is almost wholly eschewed in this MS., so that accuracy of spelling (a necessity for this book) was attainable. (Yet there are lapses, e. g. in chap. VII, the chapter where H is tabooed, *prophetam*, *Pharaonis*, instead of *profetam*, *Faraonis*). Since this MS. (unlike others) leaves a blank space (the lower half of fol. 187ᵛ) after the Incipit (in red capitals) of chap. XV, it is the most faithful representative of the archetype. Bound up with this Fulgentius MS. is another (of rather later date) containing (foll. 125-141ʳ) Macrobius and (foll. 141ʳ-163ʳ) excerpts from the Historia Augusta. These excerpts are usually said (cf. Hohl in Klio 13 [1913] p. 258) to be taken directly from:

Pal. lat. 899 Historia Augusta (with the 2-symbol of *ur*), in square quarto, foll. 216 (see pl. 191 of Chatelain's Pal. Class. Lat.), the exemplar of Bamberg E III 19 (in Anglosaxon minuscule of " saec. ix "; see pl. 8 of Ihm Palaeogr. Lat.). But since Pal. lat. 899 offers quite clearly (fol. 6ᵛ) tantū ' tantum ', it is difficult to account for the mistake in Pal. lat. 886 in the same sentence (fol. 141ᵛ *tamen*, with suprascript correption *tantum*). It is impossible to determine with such complete certainty the exemplar from which a mere collection of excerpts (a manual for the history-class; at Mayence?) was taken, as we can determine the exemplar which was fully transcribed (at Fulda? Traube assigns the Bamberg MS. to Fulda).

Finally I may mention a later MS.:

Pal. lat. 1579, foll. 1-16 Fulgentius' Continentia Virgilii, two quires of 21 $\times$ 13.5 cm., written in the eleventh (end of the tenth?) century (and therefore later than the two catalogues of Pal. lat 1877). At the bottom of fol. 1ʳ is *Ad laurissam 1467*, followed below by *mathias* (rest of entry lost). Of this Mathias Widmann de Kemnat, who has left his signature in more than one Lorsch MS., e. g. the Montpellier Juvenal (see Chatelain Pal. Class. Lat. pl. 127), Gottlieb has given an account in Eranos of 1893 (on p. 145). He was chaplain of Prince Frederic I.

V. — The Scriptorium of St Nazarius in the Ninth Century, etc. B. The later MSS.

Let me first remind the reader how obscure is the limit between the ninth and the tenth century script. The famous British Museum MS. (Harl. 2736) of Cicero de Oratore has been assigned by experts to the tenth century; but (as we shall learn in detail from Prof Beeson's long-expected book on Lupus) it is written throughout by the hand of the famous Servatus Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, who died in 862. Its script is identical with that of the corrections in Berne 366 Valerius Maximus (see the plate accompanying my article in Classical Philology IV [1909], p. 113 ' The Archetype Codex of Valerius Maximus ').

I begin with a MS in wbich both t' an t^2 are used for *tur*:

Pal. lat. 200 (= " Becker 37, 102 ") Augustinus de Civitate Dei XVIII-XXII, in smallish folio, foll. 139, with two columns to the page, by many scribes. Plate V shews the last page of the text (fol. 138^v) with the subscription of the scribe (in alternate red and black lines of capitals). Donadeus (who uses the apostrophe-symbol of *ur*) begins at fol. 87^v (the beginning of Book XXI) and continues to the end of the text. The Lorsch ' ex libris ' entry on fol. 139^v is immediately followed by a few records of payments: Adelbertus de Ritten dedit quatuor solidos, Gerdrut de Budilisbac dedit sex solidos, etc.

Pal. lat. 178* (= " Becker 37, 206 ") Jerome Epist. in Ctesiphontem, Dial. adv. Pelagianos, in oblong quarto, foll. 82.

Pal. lat. 236 (= " Becker 37, 312 or 314 ") Prosper de Vocatione Omnium Gentium, in oblong quarto or large octavo, foll. 53. In the fly-leaf a tenth century hand has written an account (unfinished) of the dream of a Lorsch monk (fol. 1^r I quote the beginning, middle and end): Hoc vero somnium vel certa internorum visio oculorum angustiae meae sive anxietatis non modicae... Putabam me ingredi aeclesiam sancti Nazarii ad orientem. et, cum ingressus fuissem, stetit quidam vir ammirabili ac terribili vultu... et aio ad eum (*end*). The alphabet ' probatio pennae ' on the fly-leaf ends: *x y z et* (ligature), *est*.

Pal. lat. 241 (= " Becker 37, 371 ") Faustus de Spiritu Sancto, in small octavo, foll. 37, by more than one scribe. The curious (9^v) spm dnm ihm descendisse (with *Spiritum* instead of *super*) suggests that the exemplar had the early (syllabic) abbreviation symbol sp ' super '. (On the later entry on fol. 36^v see Falk).

Pal. lat. 243, foll. 33-48 (= " Becker 37, 556 ") Eginhard's Vita Caroli Magni. See Falk's account of the other contents of this Lorsch ' recueil factice '. The Ferrandus (foll. 1-32) is more suggestive of the Lorsch scriptorium than the Eginhard and seems at least as old.

Pal. lat. 290, foll. 1-31 (= " Becker 37, 347 ") Alcuin on Felix of Urgel. The verso of the second fly-leaf has the title in rustic capitals: INCIPIT LIBER ALBINI QVEM EDIDIT CONTRA HERESIM FELICIS. The recto of the first fly-leaf has a contemporary ' ex libris ' entry (followed by a later: Codex de monasterio sci Nazarii quod est in Lauresham situm (?) iuxta fluvio Wistchino (?), etc.).

Pal. lat. 485 Miscellaneous (with the *h l* omission-mark), in oblong quarto, foll. 113. (For the contents of this highly interesting MS. see Falk). A facsimile in Salzer ' Illustrierte Geschichte deutscher Literatur '). The famous Lorsch Confessional (German) occupies foll. 2^v (end) — 3^v. Astrological lore (an account of the *dies Aegyptiaci:* oportet hos custodire per multas causas, etc.) on fol. 13^v is followed by medical directions for the year (Mens. Mar. bibat dulce, usitat agramen, usitet radices confectas manducare, asso balneo usitare, sanguinem minuare, etc.); then (14^r) the Greek alphabet and its numerical denotation; then (14^v) Rules for Cryptic Speech and Script (Si amicum inter insidiatores positum ut caute se agat ammonere desideras, etc. = Bede Temp. Rat. 1). In the top margin of fol. 100^v *drutbidi* is written in cryptic script with dot-groups for vowels). The test below (a Penitential) refers to vomiting in church.

Pal. lat. 833, foll. 1-24 Bede's Martyrology, in small octavo (13.5 × 16 cm., i. e. 5 $^1/_4$ × 6 $^1/_4$ in.). There are obituary entries, contemporary or slightly later. The famous collection of inscriptions, with title Epithavia (*sic*) Sanctorum, bound up with this Martyrology, and occupying foll. 26-53 (= " Becker

37, 377 "), is assigned by Falk to 8-9 cent. It is calligraphic. Falk says: " Mir drängte sich der Gedanke auf, ein Lorscher Konventuale habe diesen jenseits der Alpen fertig gestellten Codex bei einer Romfahrt erworben und in die Heimat mitgenommen ". He therefore believed the epitaph collection to have been written in Italy (And certainly it shews I longa). The Martyrology script is clearly German, probably of Lorsch. The remainder (foll. 54-84) does not seem earlier than 10-11 cent.

VI. — Some Eighth Century MSS. of Lorsch Library.

I use as proof of this dating the older ligatures and suprascriptions of letters. But since the Lorsch script of 795 and 796, exhibited in Chroust's plate (mentioned above), has none of these, it may be that some MSS. which I have already referred to the ninth century really belong to the eighth. Since the abbreviation of *noster* is a clue to early dating (see Notae Lat.), it will be well to mention whether the older symbols (ni, etc.) or the later (nri, etc.) are found in each MS. (Notice on Chroust's plate of the 795-6 Lorsch script of the Annales Laureshamenses nri ' nostri ').

I begin the list with a MS. whose use of the *h l* omission-mark enables us to assign it to the Lorsch scriptorium:

Pal. lat. 169 (= " Becker 37, 286 ") Ambrose on Paul Epist. Cor., in small folio, foll. 150, by more than one scribe (with ni and nri ' nostri '). Initials are in brown-red-yellow. The title (in Lorsch fashion) is on the verso of the fly-leaf (fol. 1v) at the beginning of the volume; and the fly-leaf at the end of the volume (fol. 151) was used in the tenth century for Nomina Laureshamensis Caenobii Fratrum, beginning with *Gerbodo abb* (another hand has added *et pr*). This is Gerbod the abbot of Lorsch 951-972. I suppose it is this list which induced Falk to date the MS. " aus dem 9 bis 10 Jahrhundert "; unless he was comparing the script of the MS. itself (as he might be pardoned for doing) with Beneventan minuscule of these centuries. The full list is printed by Reifferscheid on p. 199 of vol. I of his Bibl. Patr. lat. Ital.

Pal. lat. 238 (= " Becker 37, 310 ") ' Prosper ' (= Julianus Pomerius) de Vita Contemplativa, in oblong quarto, foll. 74 but foll. 1-2 are merely paper, part of the modern binding) (with ni ' nostri '). Initials are in black-red-yellow. The script is quite unlike that of Pal. lat. 169, and (like that of Pal. lat. 245) much more suggestive of the predecessor of Lorsch 9th cent. minuscule. After fol. 74, which is blank, are three leaves of a Martyrology (on which see Stevenson's Catalogue).

Pal. lat. 245 (= " Becker 37, 222 ") Gregorii Moralia, in quarto, foll. 179, by two scribes (1-92, 93-end) (with nri much more often than ni ' nostri '). Plates vi (of fol. 92v, i. e. the end of Book II and of the eleventh quire) and vii (of fol. 93r) shew the older and the newer phases of the script. A corrector has revised the spelling, altering, e. g. *inquoat* to *inchoat* (17r, 22v), *cogitationebus* to *-ibus*, *possedimus* to *possidemus*, *subolis* to *suboles*, *capud* to *caput*, *vagasse* to *vacasse*, and (throughout) q; (i. e. que) to *quae*. The 2-symbol of *ur* in the third last line of pl. vii (penetrat*ur*) is due to him. The scribe used the apostrophe-symbol.

Pal. lat. 966 Gregory of Tours, and the Annales Nazariani, in oblong quarto, foll. 59 (with nri ' nostri '). The script of the Annales Nazariani (foll. 53v-59), contemporary, if not identical, with that of the Gregory, can be dated at 791 (see pl. 28 of Ehrle and Liebaert ' Specimina ') and plate II of Mon. Germ. Hist. SS. I 21). The margins of foll. 30v-31r, 42v-43r shew a different, but contemporary, hand.

Pal. lat. 1547 (= " Becker 37, 381 ") Seneca de Beneficiis et de Clementia, in octavo or small oblong quarto, foll. 148, by many scribes (with nri ' nostri '). A new scribe begins at fol. 115r and with him, a new quire-numbering (122v . I . , 130v . II . , 138v . III . , 148v . IIII .). The script (see pl. 168 of Chatelain Pal. Cl. Lat.) often recalls that of Pal lat. 169. A full account of this, the chief MS. for this portion of Seneca, will be found in the preface to Hosius' small Teubner text (1900). Neither in it nor in the other eighth-century MSS. in my list is the ' ti '-ligature used to indicate difference of pronunciation How the ligature puzzled later readers may be seen from the corrections (see the plate of Chatelain) made for a subsequent (eleventh century?) transcription.

VII. — MSS. of Lorsch Library in Anglosaxon Script.

Pal. lat. 177 (= "Becker 27, 209") Jerome on Matthew, in narrow oblong small folio, foll. 123, by more than one scribe, "saec. ix ant.". At the beginning is a splendid initial P in bright yellow, dark brown, some red and green, with delicate ornamental interlacing. I longa appears in *in*, *ius*, etc., and sometimes in *ita*, etc., *cuius*, etc. The first scribe (1-18) affects the 'uncial' (Pal. Lat. I pl. I 61) and cursive round-shouldered' (ibid. pl. I 64) form of *r*, and often the 'uncial' form of *s* and *n*. His quotation mark has a V-form (is it meant for the letter *y*?); and the second scribe too often uses this form (with a dot inside), but usually a rounded 7-form with a dot to the left (Palae. Lat. II p. 20). Greek woras are written in uncial, and a line is drawn above. Omissions are marked by

(1) *hd* in text, *dh* before supplement in lower margin (e. g. 14ᵛ, 30ʳ, 35ʳ).
(2) *d* » , *h* » » » (e. g. 33ʳ).
(3) *dh* » , *hd* » » » (e. g. 38ᵛ, etc.).

The quire-marks (numerals) occupy the usual place, the centre of the lower margin of the last page of each quire. Plate viii (of fol. 61ʳ upper part) shews a marginal supplement (and corrections) in Continental script.

Pal. lat. 195 Augustinus de Consensu Evangelistarum. in small folio, "saec. IX in".). The second half (there is no break between the two halves), foll. 53ᵛ-106, is by an English scribe Jacob, while the first half (1-53ʳ) is in Continental script. Under Jacob's subscription, *iacob scripsit*. at the end of the MS. another English hand writes: Quandam partem huius (with I longa) libri non spontanea voluntate sed coactus conpedibus constrictus, sicut oportet vagum atque fugitivum vincire. (How strange that this ebullition should have been permitted to remain!). Jacob (unlike the scribes of Pal. lat. 177) writes *z* in the true Insular fashion, with deep projecting spur (cf. Palae. Lat. I. 138). One form of *t*, lacking the right-hand half of the cross-stroke, he is very fond of. He does not use I longa, except sometimes in *in*, *iohannes*, etc. In both parts of this MS. the quire-marks appear in the centre of the lower mar-

gin of the first (not the last) page of each quire. Jacob uses the English quotation-mark, the 7-mark with two dots to the left. An omission in the English half shews (fol. 68v)

h d in text *d h* in lower margin.

Similarly in the German half (36v; but on 5v the supplement is in the upper margin), where we also find (with *hd* in text) the peculiarly Lorsch *hl* in the lower margin (18r), in the upper (10v). Plate ix (of fol. 59r) shews a contemporary marginal adscript in German minuscule.

Pal. lat. 202 Augustine on the Trinity (without the Lorsch 'ex libris'), in square quarto, foll. 182, by many scribes, "saec. viii-ix". One MS., though fol. 75v is blank; for Book VI begins a new leaf (76) by a new scribe. The black ink on whiteish vellum suggests the Lorsch scriptorium; also the *h l* omission-mark (see below). Lorsch vellum had one defect. It was occasionally oily in parts. And about a third of fol. 30v has been left blank on this account. (Calculators of the pagination of archetypes, please note). The 'mus'-symbol of German (and other Continental) minuscule, the downward cross-stroke symbol (Notae Latinae p. 385), suggests a Continental scriptorium. So does aut 'autem' (though the Insular symbol appears too). The quire-mark (a numeral accompanied by a transected *q*) stands (in part of the MS.) to the right of the lower margin of the last page of the quire. The quotation-mark is a variety of the 7-symbol, with a dot to the right (not the left). Greek words have a line drawn above them. The Greek Psi is used in *psalmus*. Omission-marks shew great variety:

(1) *d h* in text and margin (6v and 19r, upper).
(2) a mark like the Insular 'est'-symbol in text and margin (6v, lower).
(3) *h* in text and margin (15v, and 19v, upper).
(4) *h d* in text and margin (31v, 35v, 53v, etc., lower).
(5) *d* in text, *h* in margin (89v, lower).
(6) *h d* in text, *h l* in margin (14r, upper; 23r and 27r, lower).

There are so many scribes that it is impossible here to mention each peculiarity. For *z* the Insular 'pointed spur' form appears along with other forms; for *s*, both the 'uncial' and the 'minuscule'; for *r* the 'uncial' form is less favoured.

On 38ᵛ I noted an initial C (uncoloured) with dragon-head ornament. A later corrector has stopped his (often detrimental) work on fol. 17ᵛ, and has written on the margin *huc usque relegi*. If he was preparing the way for a transcription, the transcribers would be left to their own devices for the remaining part. Plate x (of fol. 82ᵛ, lower part) shews a ninth century marginal supplement in Continental script.

Pal. lat. 220 Augustini Sermones; Dicta S. Effram, in octavo (21.5 × 15 cm. Falk says "folio"!), foll. 71, by more than one scribe, "saec. ix in". In the margin of fol. 58 is the famous relic of early German, the Lorsch Bienensegen; on 62ᵛ, at the top of a blank page (later occupied by the Creed in ninth century German script) a list of names: Engilberaht, Waltger, Reginger, Suitger, Gerhart, etc. (see Falk). On 1ᵛ a rude picture of Christ (? blessing (yellow and red). On 5ʳ I noted a fairly neat initial Q (yellow-red-black); on 26ᵛ, P (with interlaced ornament). Blobs of yellow and red mark the opening letters of sentences. There is no I longa. Falk mentions that a tenth-century hand has often entered in the margin the opening of a Nazarius-hymn. Plate xi (of fol. 31ʳ) is partly in Continental script. Ehrle and Liebaert's Specimina exhibit (pl. 22) fol. 33ʳ.

Pal. lat. 829 Orosius, in square quarto, foll. 115, the first part (1-44, i. e. nearly all Books I-III) in German minuscule, the rest (45-115) English, "saec. ix ant." (Zangemeister in his edition of Orosius says "exaratus est saeculo octavo, aut fortasse noni principio, simul a duobus librariis" See the rest of his description of the MS.) The 'furry' vellum thwarts the neatness of the script. In the English part *t* often lacks the right-hand part of the cross-stroke. The 'Insular cursive' *e* (of the 8-form; Palae. Lat. I pl. I 39) in ligatures (ibid. 41 and 42) catches the eye. At the end of Book V: Finit Liber Quintus; of Book VI: Explicit Liber Sextus. There is a separate quire-marking for the English part, but the numeration for the whole volume has been added beside it. Thus e. g. fol. 46ᵛ shews (at the usual place) the numeral .I. and beneath it the numeral .III.. Still, I do not think that the MS. is a mere 'recueil factice'. I may however confess that I should not venture to contradict anyone who argued that the

MS. was indeed corrected at Lorsch in the ninth century, but was written at Mayence, possibly at the end of the eighth. On foll. 113v-115 Epistolae Sulpitii Severi ad sanctum Paulinum episcopum (cf. Zangemeister's preface, p. xiii). (Perhaps it is worth adding that Pal. lat. 828, foll 89-172, is a twelfth century transcript of Pal. lat. 829, and has a list of books — e. g. Ovid's Metamorphoses — 'quos Bernardus proprio sumptu conscribi fecit').

Paris lat. 16668 (= "Becker 37, 281") Part I (foll. 1-40) in Continental minuscules of "saec. ix": Beda de Metrica; Carmina de Die Iudicii: Aldhelmi carmen de Virginitate; de Schematibus, etc. Part II (foll. 41-58r, in Anglosaxon minuscule of "saec. ix") Themistius de Dialectica et 'Arthemisii' Rhetorica + (foll. 58v-62, in Continental contemporary minuscule) Arth. Rhet. (finis); Decretum Gelasii papae de libris canonicis. There are German glosses in Aldhelm's poem (a poem which attracted glosses as a lamp attracts moths). In the English script (41-58r) I longa is used in *in*, *inter*, etc., *maius*, etc. (usually), *igitur*, etc. (sometimes), but not in *ille*. To indicate a new paragraph a K-mark is often inserted between the lines or in the margin by a corrector (e. g. 49v, 50r). An obscured mark at the foot of fol. 51r (the first page of a new quire) may be *xb* (see Palae. Lat. II p. 25). In the Continental part the list of Aldhelm 'glossae collectae' deserves mention (It occupies the lower half of fol. 40v.): Probrosus: contumeliosus, Levirum: *ceichur*, Municipes: *burgara*, etc. Aldhelm's preface (on fol. 23) is in coloured half-uncials. Plate xii (of fol. 58r) shews the last page of the English script.

VIII. — Lorsch Ninth-Century Abbreviation-Symbols. (Continental Script).

Since the greater number of the MSS. which I have mentioned use abbreviation sparingly and are not sufficiently large for our purpose, I base my statistics on these three: Pal. lat. 814 Josephus, 822 Rufinus, 1773 Liber Glossarum, and mention the others only when there is occasion. So no inference 'ex silentio' is safe. To save the expense of cutting new types I refer the reader to the pages of my Notae La-

tinae where the form of a symbol is stated. A stroke stands above each symbol in the MS. (unless I mention another form). I may remind the reader that the earlier MSS. are 57, 175, 188, 195 I, 198, 201, 246, 249, 266, 284, 285, 290 II, 814, 822, 920, 1341 I, 1578, 1719, 1746, 1753, 1773; the later group comprises 178, 236, 241, 243 II, 290 I, 485.

AUTEM. Both au and aut in the earlier group; aut commoner than au in the later and universal in 178. 236, 290 I, etc.

DICO. dr 'dicitur' 814, 822, 175, 188, 276, 284, 1746, 485, 178; dt 'dicit' 814 (marginalia), 195 I, 284 (fol. 48ʳ), 188 (fol. 12ᵛ). These are Insular symbols.
dic 'dicit'; dix 'dixit'.

EIUS. ei 1773 (sometimes, e. g. fol. 203ʳ flos eius), 200 (fol. 45ʳ; the corrector substitutes the apostrophe).

ENIM. The Insular symbol (Not. Lat. p. 63) 822, 814 (fol. 17ʳ, at end of line), 1746, 290 I (fol. 3ʳ), 188 (fol. 30ʳ).

ESSE. ee (in all MSS.) EST (1) e (in all MSS.) (2) the Insular symbol (Not. Lat. p. 69) 822, 1773, 814 (fol. 96ʳ, at end of line; fol. 49ʳ id est), 201 (fol. 196ʳ) 1341 I, 1746, 1753, 485, 284 (at end of line sometimes), 188 (ditto).

FRATER (see *er*). fr 'frater' 822 (fol. 103ʳ), 266 (fol. 98ᵛ), 57 (fol. 40ʳ); frem 'fratrem' 814, 822; frm 'fratrum' 814, 822. And so on (frm 'fratrem' 485).

FRATRES (1) frs 814, 822, 485, 200, 249, 266. (2) ff 822 (fol. 107ᵛ), 201 (fol. 113ʳ), 198 (frequently). (3) fres 200 (fol. 120ʳ, fol. 121ʳ).

GLORIA gla 243.

GRATIA gra 243.

HIC. In 1746 the Insular symbols hs 'huius', h with dot 'hoc', hc 'hunc'.

ID EST (see *est*). (1) id 1773, 1746. (2) i with Insular 'est'-symbol 1773.

LOQUITUR. loqr 814 (marginalia), 188 (fol. 49ʳ).

MEUS. ms 'meus' 814, 1773, 290 I (frequently).

MIHI. m with suprascript *i* 814 (fol. 71ᵛ), 822 (fol. 28ʳ, fol. 89ʳ), 1719, 276 (fol. 40ᵛ). This is an Insular symbol.

MODO. m with suprascript *o* 1746.

NOBIS, VOBIS. nob, uob 814, 822, 1773.
NOMEN (see *en*)
NON. n (often in majuscule form).
NOSTER, VESTER. nr 'noster' 814, 822, 1773; nri 'nostri'. And so on. The older ni (etc.) 'nostri' (etc.) appears along with nri (etc.) in 188 (the MS. belonging to Adalung, abbot of Lorsch 805-838). One scribe (presumably a Spaniard) of 172 uses the Visigothic symbol nsi.
NUNC. The Insular symbol nc appears occasionally, 822 (fol. 115ʳ), 200 (now and then), 1341 I (fol. 57ᵛ).
OMNIS. 'omnes' (1) om 814 (always), 822 (far oftener than oms), 1753 (ditto), 195 I (ditto), 175, 1746 (usually oms), 198 (fol. 30ʳ; elsewhere oms). Never in the later group. For 'omnis' 276 (fol. 22ʳ o. exercitus disceret).
(2) oms (never in 814, except when a subsequent corrector has altered om).
(3) omes 178.
'omnia' oma.
'omnis' omis 1341 I (now and then).
And so on.
PATER (see *er*).
PER. p with horizontal cross-stroke through the shaft.
POST. (1) p with apostrophe 814, 822, 1753, 1719, 485, 243, 198, 188 (fol. 38ʳ).
(2) pt (the Anglosaxon symbol) 1746.
(3) p with semi-colon (the 'pus'-symbol 822 (fol. 166ʳ).
PRAE p.
PRAETER (see *prae*; see *er*).
PRO. the usual symbol (Not. Lat. p. 175).
PROPTER (see *er*). (1) ppt 1773, 200 (fol. 21ʳ, fol. 69ʳ), 57 (fol. 70ʳ, fol. 148ʳ), 201, 246, 1746 (fol. 23ʳ), 236 (fol. 40ʳ).
(2) prop 1773, 201 (fol. 20ʳ *propter*ea).
(3) pp 814, 1773, 246, 290 I (fol. 7ᵛ), 1753, 200 (fol. 89ᵛ), 198 (frequently), 57 (fol. 34ʳ; with abbreviation-stroke below, not above, fol. 98ʳ).
QUAE, QUAM (see *qui*).

QUANDO. (1) qnd 1746.

(2) quo 178, 200 (fol. 34^v = Aug. Civ. Dei II 361, 8) (expanded by a corrector). How can we account for this misuse of the 'quoniam'-symbol?

QUASI. The Insular symbol qsi 822 (not frequently), 814 (fol. 73^v), 198 (fol. 87^r), 195 I (fol. 7^r), 188 (fol. 20^r).

QUE. the usual symbols (Not. Lat. p. 228). One scribe of 1773 (the scribe who inserted part of the O-section into the N-section) is very fond of *q* with long oblique stroke through the shaft (Not. Lat. p. 228).

QUI, etc. 'qui' q with suprascript *i* (the Insular symbol) 814, 822, 1773, 57 (fol. 29^r), 201 (fol. 45^v), 236, 200 (fol. 71^v), 284 (at end of line sometimes. Also q with suprascript *o* 'quo'; q with suprascript *a* 'qua').

'quae' (1) q 1746, 178.

(2) the Insular symbol, q followed by a triangle of dots, 200, 201 (fol. 36^v), 266 (fol. 8^v), 246 (fol. 8^v).

'quam' the usual (Insular) symbol (Not. Lat. p. 215) 814, 201 (fol. 36^v).

'quod' (1) qd 814, 822, 1746, 178, 485, 57.

(2) the Insular symbol (Not. Lat. p. 254) 1341 I (frequently), 1746, 814 (fol. 64^r), 178 (sometimes).

A curious feature of 920 is the scribe's symbol for 'qui', It resembles the Insular 'quod'-symbol, but while this has round curves at each end of the oblique line which transects the shaft of *q*, the scribe of 920 makes the transecting line of his 'qui'-symbol much less curved' in fact nearly straight. It is no unfamiliar symbol which he transferred from the exemplar. It must be his habitual symbol; he uses it so freely, e. g. (27^r) quidem, (41^r) quievit (58^v) nequivit.

QUIA. (1) q with 2-mark (Not. Lat. p. 245) 814, 822, 1773, 200 (fol. 57^r), 246, 188 (fol. 72^r).

(2) the Insular symbol (Not. Lat. p. 245) 814 (fol. 68^r).

QUOD (see *qui*).

QUOMODO (see *quo*; see *modo*). qmdo 814 (fol. 73^r).

QUONIAM (1) qm 814, 822 (the first scribe's only form), 1773, 57, 175, 188, 198 (but quo occasionally), 201, 249 (but quo fol. 133^{v}), 266, 284, 285, 1341 I, 1588, 200, 178, 236, 290 I, 485.
(2) quo 201 (less often than qm), 57 (less often than qm), 188 (fol. 18^{v}), 246, 1341 I, 1719, 485, 236, 178, 241, 290 I (fol. 5^{r}).
(3) qnm 1773, 822 (not frequent), 814 (once), 1719.

QUOQUE. qq 814, 822, 188, 1341 I, 290 I, 1719.

QUOT. the Insular symbol qt 1341 I (fol. 45^{v}, fol. 55^{v}).

SAECULUM, – LI, etc. (1) sclm, scli 814, 822, 1773, 57 (frequently), 175 (frequently), 188 (fol. 8^{r}), 246, 1773, 200, 236, 485.
(2) seclm, secli 1773 (less often than sclm, scli).

SECUNDUM. (1) secdm 822 (fol. 84^{r}), 485.
(2) sedm 1341 I (fol. 56^{r}), 485 (fol. 55^{r}).

SICUT. sic 814, 1773, 822 (fol. 105^{v}), 57, 241, 485 (frequently), 1753, 290 (fol. 21^{r}), 284 (fol 49^{r}), 188 (fol. 73^{v}).

SUNT. (1) s 814, 822, 1773, 57, 201, 195 I, 188. With apostrophe instead of suprascript stroke 1746 (here and there), 920 (fol. 29^{v}).
(2) st 814, 1773, 57, 485, 178, 1341 I.

TAMEN. the Insular symbol tn 822, 1719 (frequently) 1753, 188, 814 (fol. 116^{r}).

TANTUM. the Insular symbol tm 1341 I, 1746.

TEMPORE. (1) tempr 1773
(2) temp 246.

TUNC. the Insular symbol tc 814, 200, 822 (fol. 112^{v}).

VEL. (1) l with cross-stroke 814, 822, 485, 200, 1341 I.
(2) ul 1773.

VERO. (1) u with suprascript *o* 814, 822, 1341 I, 1746, 1719, 188.
(2) uo 822 (fol. 118^{v}), 198 (fol. 22^{r}).

VESTER (see *noster*).

VOBIS (see *nobis*).

SYLLABLES, etc.

M. Nothing noteworthy.

CON. (1) c.
(2) the Insular symbol (a reversed *c*) 1746, 1341 I (fol. 45r).

EN. m ' men '.

ER. t ' ter '; b with cross-stroke ' ber ' 814, 822, 1773, 249; u ' ver ' 814 (fol. 64r con*ver*terunt, at end of line).

IS. b with cross-stroke ' bis ' 920, 1746.

IT (see *dico*). c ' -cit ' 814, 1773.
d with cross-stroke ' -dit ' 1773, 814 (fol. 70r red-di*dit*), 236 (fol. 15r, fol. 27r).
g ' git ' 814 (fol. 55r colle*git*).
p ' -pit ' 1773 (fol. 222r rece*pit*).
u ' vit ' 1773, 200 (fol. 106r, at end of line) 276 (imple*vit*), 188 (forma*vit*).
x ' -xit ' 814, 822, 1773.

Also hab (with cross-stroke through *b*) ' habet ' 1341 I (fol. 30r).

RI. ' pri '. The Insular symbol, p with suprascript *i*, 822 (fol. 46r *pri*mum) may come from the exemplar.

RUM. (1) r with cross-stroke through the arm 814, 822, 1773, 1753, 485, 200, 188.
(2) r with apostrophe 1773.

RUNT. (1) r with stroke above 1773, 57 (fol. 15r), 249, 201, 284, 485. With apostrophe 814, 822, 57 (fol. 55r), 201, 249 (fol. 82v), 200, 195 I, 188 (fol. 24v) 1753. With 2-mark 236, 241.
(2) rt 822 (fol. 105v), 201, 485.

UR. ' tur ' (1) t with apostrophe or 2-mark (see above). With arch (Not. Lat. p. 378) 1746.
(2) t with suprascript z-mark 1773 (one scribe).
(3) t with horizontal stroke above 1773.

US. Final ' bus '. Nothing noteworthy.
Final ' tus ' (see above).
Final ' cus ', ' ius ', ' pus '. The apostrophe symbolizes final *us*.
Final ' mus ', ' nus ' (1) downward stroke through the extended tail of *m*, *n* 814, 822, 1773, 57, 188, 200, 246, 266, 1341 I, 1719. 1753, 290 I, 200 (changed by a later corrector to the apostrophe-symbol), 178

(fol. 72r, end of line), 236 (at ends of lines), 241 (ditto). The cursive 8-form of this symbol (Not. Lat. p. 389) appears sometimes in 1746; and similarly ' rus ' in 920 (fol. 33r ve*rus*, at end of line).

(2) m, n with apostrophe 1773, 57, 284.

SOME NOMINA SACRA.

DOMINUS. The misuse of dni in the sense of ' lord ' (not ' Lord ') is corrected in the margin of 246 (fol. 80v cum domini honoribus et rebus tument).

HIERUSALEM. hierlm 1773.

ISRAEL. (1) isrl 1773 (usually), 57, 175 (less often than irl), 198, 201, 178, 200, 236.
(2) irl 1773 (fol. 151r), 175, 201 1753 (fol. 78v), 285 (fol. 50r, 284).
(3) ishl 1773 (fol. 223v), 249.
(4) irhl 822 (fol. 125r), 1773 (fol. 26v, fol. 224v).
(5) isrh 201 (fol. 195r, fol. 196r).
(6) ihl 1773 (fol. 283r).

There is thus a large admixture of Insular (we may say English) symbols in these ninth century products of the Lorsch scriptorium in Continental scripts. But apparently none (or next to none) in those of the eighth century. In the eighth century MSS. of the Lorsch library which I have mentioned as claiming provenance from the Lorsch scriptorium the following points of divergence (or otherwise) from the ninth century group may be mentioned (the *nostri, vestri* symbols have been mentioned already):

autem. au (never aut).
dico. dics ' dicens ' 245 (frequently).
fratres. (1) ff. 169 (oftener than frs).
(2) frs 169, 238. In 245 this denotes ' fratris ' (fol. 52).
omnes. (1) om 238 (never oms), 245 (never oms).
(2) oms 966, 1547. In 1547 this denotes also ' omnis '.
propter. (1) pp 238 (throughout).
(2) prop 238 (now and then).

que. q with horizontal cross-stroke 245 (but usually the common symbol).

qui. (1) q with suprascript *i* 238, 245 (the *i* has apostrophe-form).

(2) q with the S-mark (a ligature of *ui*) 245, 1547 (fol. 3ʳ *qui*a).

quod. qd (never the Insular symbol).

quoniam. (1) qm 169, 238, 869, 1547. Clearly the predominant Lorsch symbol of this word.

(2) qnm 169 (fol. 94ʳ), 869 (fol. 6ᵛ).

(3) quo 245, 869 (fol. 5ᵛ).

quoque. qq 238.

sicut. sic 238, 245.

sunt. (1) s 169, 238, 245.

(2) st 1547 (fol. 6ʳ).

vel. ul 245.

con. c 238, 245.

um. 'rum' r with cross stroke through arm 238, 245, 966, 1547. With the cursive 8-form of this cross-stroke 169 (fol. 59ʳ illo*rum*, at end of line).

'dum' d with cross-stroke 1547 (fol. 5ʳ dicen*dum*).

us. 'mus' (1) m with vertical stroke through extended tail 169, 238, 245. With the cursive 8-form of this symbol 245, 1547.

(2) m, n with apostrophe 245 (fol. 2ᵛ, fol. 92ᵛ).

'bus' (1) the usual symbols.

(2) b with cross-stroke 1547.

Finally (though critics may cavil) rough details of the abbreviation in the Anglosaxon script of Lorsch Library MSS. in my list, with especial reference to the intrusion of Continental symbols:

autem. (1) the h-symbol 195 II (usually), 202 (usually), 220 (usually), 177 (rarely; only by the first scribe).

(2) au 195 II, 202, 220, 829 (fol. 76ᵛ, fol. 110ᵛ). A Continental symbol.

(4) aut 177, 195 II, 202, 829. A Continental symbol.

The early English symbol ãt 220 (fol. 32ᵛ nos autem dilectissimi quantum possumus) presumably comes from the exemplar.

dico. (1) dt 'dicit' 177. 195 II, 202; dr 'dicitur' 177. 202, 220; dx 'dixit' 177, 202; dnt 'dicunt' 202; dnr 'dicuntur' 202.
(2) dix 'dixit' 220, 177 (fol. 79ʳ). A Continental symbol.
(3) dxt 'dixit' 202 (by one scribe, who also uses dx).
eius. the Insular symbol (Not. Lat. p. 35) 202.
enim. the Insular symbol (Not. Lat. p. 63) 202, 195 II (fol. 82ʳ).
esse. ee.
est. (1) the Insular symbol 202. 220. 829 (fol. 56ʳ).
(2) e 177, 220, 829 (fol. 75ʳ).
et. the 7-symbol 220, 202 (fol. 72ʳ et Spiritus *et* sanctus.
frater. (1) fr 'frater' 177 (fol. 4ᵛ); frs 'fratres' 202, 220; fri 'fratri' 202 (fol. 106ʳ); frem 'fratrem' 202 fol. 105ᵛ); fribus 'fratribus' 202 (fol. 104ʳ).
(2) ff 'fratres' 202 (fol. 108ʳ).
hic. the Insular symbol of 'haec' (Not. Lat. p. 98) 202; hs 'huius' 202, 177 (fol. 54ʳ).
meus. ms 177.
nobis, *vobis*. nob 202.
non. n 177, 195 II, 202, 220, 829.
noster, *vester*. nr 'noster' 177, 202, 220; nri, etc. 'nostri', etc. 177, 195 II, 202. 220. Notice nrs 'nostris' 202 (fol. 88ʳ in cordibus nostris; 88ᵛ a nostris Graecis). The ni 'nostri' of 220 fol. 67ʳ (Redemptoris nostri) presumably comes from the exemplar.
nunc. nc 202, 195 II (fol. 60ᵛ).
omnis. (1) oms 'omnes, 177, 202, 220; oma 'omnia' 202.
(2) omes 'omnes' 220 (fol. 53ᵛ).
per. (1) the Insular symbol (Not. Lat. p. 179) 195 II, 202, 220, 829.
(2) the Continental symbol 177, 202.
post. (1) pt 195 II.
(2) p with suprascript *o* 202.
prae. (1) the usual symbol 177, 195 II, 202, 220, 829.

(2) p with apostrophe (i. e. the Continental ' post '-symbol) 177.

We have already seen (s. v. *sunt*, *-runt*) that at Lorsch the apostrophe was sometimes substituted for the suprascript stroke in symbols.

pro. the usual symbol. 177, 195 II, 202, 220. Not abbreviated in 829.

propter. (1) ppt 177, 195 II, 202, 829.

(2) pp 202, 220, 177 (fol. 78ʳ).

quando. qndo 202 (frequently).

quasi. qsi 177, 202.

que. Nothing noteworthy.

qui. ' quae ' the Insular symbol (Not. Lat. p. 208) 202, 220.

' quam ' the usual symbol 202, 177 (only at end of line, 15ʳ, 82ʳ).

' qui ' q with suprascript *i* 202.

' quod ' (1) the Insular symbol (Not. Lat. p. 254) 177, 202.

(2) qd 177, 195 II, 202, 220, 829.

quia. the Insular symbol (Not. Lat. 245) 202.

quoniam. quo 177, 195 II, 202, 220.

May we therefore infer that at Lorsch the native symbol was qm and that quo was an English immigrant?

quoque. qq 177, 202.

saeculum. sclm 202, 220.

secundum. scdm 177.

sicut. (1) sic 195 II, 220 (fol. 9ᵛ), 829 (fol. 101ʳ).

(2) sict 177, 202.

The sc of 202 (fol. 34ʳ, fol. 36ʳ, etc.) presumably comes from the exemplar.

sunt. st 195 II, 202, 220, 829.

super. sr 202 (fol. 34ʳ, fol. 35ʳ). From the exemplar?

tamen. tn 195 II, 202.

tantum. tm 202.

tempore. temp 177.

tunc. tc 202.

vel. l with cross-stroke 177, 195 II, 202, 220.

vero. u with suprascript *o* 202.

m. Nothing noteworthy.

con. (1) the Insular symbol, a reversed *c* 220.
(2) c 202 (fol. 61r, at end of line).
en. m ' men ' 177, 195 II, 220, 829. This is a Continental symbol.
er. t ' ter ' 177, 195 II, 202, 220, 829.
is (cf nobis).
it (cf. dixit).
ri. ' pri ' p with suprascript *i* 202.
runt. rt 177, 195 II, 202, 220, 829.
um. ' rum ' r with stroke above 195 II, 202, 829.
ur. ' tur ' (1) the English symbol (Not. Lat. p. 373 195 II, 202, 829, 177 (fol. 5r). Notice that the Continental minuscule of 195 I, which admits many Insular symbols (dnr ' dicuntur ', dnt ' dicunt ', the ' autem '-symbol, etc.), never admits this.
(2) t with apostrophe 202.
us. ' bus '. Nothing noteworthy.
' mus ', ' nus ' (1) the German symbols (Not. Lat. p. 384) 202.
(2) m with apostrophe 220.

IX. — Some Usages of the Lorsch Scriptorium.

A. *Omission-marks.* Here are some statistics of the letters used in the Continental script of Lorsch as symbols of omission (in text) and supplement (in margin, — side, upper, lower —, the symbol always preceding the supplement). Let me premise that a small omission is normally marked not by letters, but by an oblique line (rising from left to right) with a dot on each side. Indeed longer omissions too are often marked so, e. g 175, 198 (now and then), 284, 285, 290, 814, 1753.

(1) *h d* in text and in margin 169, 238, 200, 201, 822. A long supplement in 188 (fol. 18r is dignified with the fuller *haec deest.*
(2) *d h* in text and *h d* in margin 188, 814, 1753.
(3) *d h* in text and in margin 188, 814.

(4) *h d* in text and *h p* in margin 169, 1547. Notice that these are eighth-century MSS.
(5) *h d* in text and *d h* in margin 238, 195 I, 266.
(6) *d* in text and *h* in margin 238, 188, 249, 814. This is English usage.
(7) *d h* in text an *h* in margin 238
(8) *h d* in text and *h* in margin 1341.
(9) *d* in text and in margin 814.
(10) *h* in text and in margin 285, 1753.
(11) *h l* in text and in margin 266, 1341.
(12) *h d* in text and *h l* in margin 169, 175, 195 I, 198 (very frequent), 201, 246, 249, 266, 284, 285, 290, 485, 1341.

What a variety (though the last is — in the early ninth century, at least – the Lorsch usage par excellence)! Evidently such rigid uniformity was not imposed at the Lorsch scriptorium as — let us say — at the Monte Cassino scriptorium in Desiderius' time. And one gets the same impression of freedom, or laxity, or tolerance of individual preference, or whatever other phrase suits best, from the very script of Lorsch at its zenith of learning and activity, in Adalung's abbacy. (Notice the excellence of the Latin verses quoted above). Though one who handles the various MSS. may have little doubt that their letters, as well as their vellum and general appearance, proclaim Lorsch provenance, yet he must confess that the script shews a certain amount of variety of type and must be prepared for a reader's doubt: How can you venture to claim this script for Lorsch rather than for Mayence or Fulda or for any other German scriptorium? It is fortunate that there is the *h l* omission-mark to fall back on. That is the best criterion of Lorsch products.

I must beg to be excused from an attempt to describe the letter-forms of Lorsch ninth-century Continental script. I do not believe in the utility of such attempts. The tedious sentences which accompany the plates in this or that palaeographical publication bring no clear picture to the mind (at least, to my mind) and serve only to shew the inadequacy of language (at least, the describer's language) as a substitute

for things. A single photograph (in natural size) tells more than a dozen pages of description.

But let me record my admiration for what I would almost call (par excellence) the calligraphic Lorsch minuscule of Adalung's time, I mean the script exhibited in the plate from Pal. lat. 1753 which accompanies my article in Classical Philology XI 270. It is a free, uncramped, rounded type; and the letter in it which always catches my eye is the *p*, with a sweeping curve which suggests to me the 'pout' of a pouter-pigeon (I call this form of the letter 'pouter-pigeon *p*'). And the scribe of this elegant minuscule (he has written the greater part of the MS.) was no mean scholar, if I am right in supposing him to be the author (as the majuscule addition suggests) of the epitaph (fol. 116v) on his teacher Dombercht, an Englishman and favourite pupil of St Boniface. The full poem is printed (but wrongly dated) by Duemmler in Mon. Germ. Poetae I 19. (It begins: Funereo textu scribuntur facta priorum). I quote parts here:

Hic iacet egregius nivea sub mole sacerdos
  Qui meritis caeli vivit in arce suis,
Eloquio fulgens sacro cognomine dictus
  Dombercht qui mundi clara lucerna fuit
Grammaticae studio, metrorum legibus aptus
  Plurima percutiens funere corda suo.

. . . .

Artibus et meritis fulgens Bonifatius almus
  Pro Christo gladiis qui sua membra dedit,
Hunc magno studio docuit nutrivit amavit
  Complens quod sonuit vatis in ore pium.
Francorum ad patriam tremulas venere per undas
  Anglorum pelagi germine de nitido.

At the end the scribe has written in uncials: ROGO TE DOMINE PATER UT EMENDAS (*sic*) ET CORRIGAS. Was it Dombercht, this world-famed authority on Latin Grammar and Verse-composition, who brought to Lorsch the uncial texts of the grammarians transcribed in Pal. lat. 1753, etc.? At any rate, we are reminded of the debt the Lorsch library and the Lorsch college (not to mention the Lorsch scriptorium) owed to English missionaries. Duemmler (p. 2 l. c.) suggests identification with Tumbert, abbot of Glastombury 744 A. D.

The same type (with 'pouter-pigeon *p*') appears in Pal. lat. 1746 (a great part), 188, 195, etc., MSS. in some (not all) of which we may recognize the handiwork of Dombercht's pupil. Also, but in smaller size (the size of the Anglosaxon minuscule of plate xii), on foll. 58^v-62 of Paris lat. 16668. (The Vatican Collection of Negatives has the negative of fol. 58^v, so that anyone who wishes can procure a photograph by applying to the Prefect of the Vatican Library).

B. *Quire-marks*. Normally numerals are used. But often (majuscule letters): 175, 200, 284, 920, 1746. In 814 (fol. 22^v) Q (with suprascript stroke, i. e. quaternio) C . III . . The quire-mark stands occasionally on the first (not the last) page of the quire: 201, 245, 285 (by the second scribe), 290 II (usually), 920. A curious feature of the Ambrose MS. 169 is the use of the letters of AMBROSIUS, e. g. (16^v) M . II . , (24^v) B . III . , (32^v) R . IIII . , (48^v) S . VI . .

C. *Shelf-marks*. I did not find any (early) shelf-mark in the Lorsch MSS. mentioned above. It is true that most of them have lost their fly-leaves, and the fly-leaves retained by the few are often too browned to be legible, often covered with later scrawls and 'probationes pennae'. Still, if shelf-marking had been practised, it would probably have left some trace of itself. In this connexion I may mention an entry (of the ninth or tenth century) in Pal. lat. 249. For it refers to a MS. not by this or that shelf-mark but by its place in the catalogue. The MS. contains the concluding portion of Gregory's Moralia and the entry (on the recto of the fly-leaf) is:

iste liber post sextum scribi debet quia pars est ultima.

In the first catalogue in Pal. lat. 1877 there is a correction to the same effect. For in the Gregory section, after the item:

Sexta quae et ultima continet libros quattuor

a subsequent hand adds the item:

Septima que et ultima continet libros quattuor.

Since the second catalogue in Pal. lat. 1877 exhibits the section in the erroneous form without correction of the error, we may assume that the official catalogue was the first (not the second) catalogue in Pal. lat. 1877.

D. *Title.* Adalung's scribes began the text on fol. 2^r and assigned fol. 1^v (i. e. the inside of the fly-leaf or rather cover) to the title. In the present numeration of the leaves this page is sometimes so numbered; but sometimes the numeration of the leaves does not begin till the next page, and this page must then be described as the verso of the fly-leaf (feuille de garde) not of 'fol. 1^v'. Here are statistics (Most MSS. have lost this leaf):

57 (leaf lost), 169 (title in black on fol. 1^v), 172 (leaf lost), 175 (title in black on fol. 1^v), 177 (none), 178 (none, or leaf lost), 188 (none), 195 (leaf lost), 198 (title on fol. 1^v), 200 (index on fol. 1^v), 201 (title in red on fol. 1^v), 202 (leaf lost? index on fol. 1^r), 220 (picture of Our Lord on verso of fly-leaf), 236 (leaf lost?), 241 (Vita and title on fol 1^v), 243 (leaf lost), 245 (leaf lost), 246 (title in red on fol. 1^v), 249 (on fol. 1^v there is an 'ex libris' entry, and it is possible that the title has been erased), 266 (leaf lost), 276 (none), 284 (title in black on verso of flly-leaf), 285 (none), 290 I (title in black on verso of fly-leaf), 485 (leaf lost), 814 (none), 822 (leaf lost), 829 (title in red and black on verso of fly-leaf), 833 (leaf lost), 920 (contemporary 'ex libris' entry in rustic capitals on fol. 1^v), 966 (the text begins on fol. 1^v), 1341 (fol. 1^v contains Theotroch's report on the Fulda Mass; see above), 1547 (the text begins on fol. 1^v), 1578 (title in red and black on fol. 1^v), 1588 (leaf lost), 1719 (the text begins on verso), 1746 (leaf lost), 1753 (leaf lost), 1773 (leaf removed presumably when foll. 1-21 — a treatise written on a smaller size of leaves — were prefixed to the original work), 1877 (none).

E. *Explicit.* Normally Explicit. (Presumably the Finit of 822, etc.; comes from the exemplar).

F. *Require.* Either *R* or *r*, with stroke through the limb, e. g. 814, 966.

G. *Greek Words.* In uncial characters, with a horizontal stroke above the word.

H. *Deletion.* Notice the English usage of a triangle of dots over the syllable to be deleted in 822. (Another English usage is the surrounding of initials by red dots, e. g. 814 often, 1773 initial *D*).

I. *Punctuation.* Only the dot in the ninth century is normal. The additional punctuation seems due to a later corrector, except perhaps the interrogation-sign (corkscrew form) in 198, 238, 285, etc.

THE FARFA TYPE.

BY W. M. LINDSAY.

After Giorgi's paper (on some MSS. of the Liber Pontificalis) in 1897 (Archivio Società Romana di Storia Patria, vol. XX, p. 247) the name of 'the Farfa type' has been given to an Italian minuscule which reached its full developement in the eleventh century. Giorgi cites as examples of this type some MSS. from the scriptorium of Farfa, a Benedictine monastery about 20 miles N. (or N. N. E.) of Rome. The three plates (xiii-xv) which illustrate this article of mine will shew, better than any laborious description, what the type is; and I hope that every librarian who has MSS. of this sort in his library will let me know. For a full knowledge of this important variety of Italian minuscule a list of all the extant specimens is the first thing required. Do not let us waste time in disputing about the name. 'The Farfa type' will do very well for a label. It is the name associated with this type since 1897 and does not imply that the script was current only at Farfa and at no other scriptorium, nor even that it was invented there. So far as is known at present, it was the script of Rome and all the Roman region.

Here let me digress and appeal to palaeographers to use the same names for the same things. Some years ago I brought to notice (in the Revue des Bibliothèques XXIV 15) an eighth century script of which five specimens were then known. Two of the five came from the Laon Cathedral-library, and the best name I could devise was 'the Laon az-type', since one prominent feature was an angular *a* and another a unicornhorned *z*. Two photographs accompanied my article, so that everyone might understand exactly what the script was; and the z-form has been exhibited in Palae. Lat. I, pl. I, n°. 81. Yet, in the last twelve months three palaeographers have written about this script and have not given it its baptismal name. One has written 'the a-type',

another ‘ the North-French az-type ’, another ‘ the Laon type ’. How is the unfortunate reader to know that all three are writing about one and the same thing? Palaeography will never progress unless we are loyal to nomenclature.

To return from this digression, I would try to excuse the inexcusable eror in my Notae Latinae (p. 479, etc.) “ Farfa in Umbria ”, instead of “ Farfa near Rome ”, by the plea that I was misled by Chevalier's “ Farfa, près Spolète (Ombrie), abbaye de Bénédictins fondée VIe. s., restaur. 715 ”.

The librarian of the Vallicelliana, to which library belong the MSS. represented in the three plates (pl. xiii, pl. xiv, pl. xv) which accompany this article, tells me that nothing is known of the provenance of the first MS. (Vallicell. B 10 Bible; but foll. 1-95 shew a different minuscule), and that Trisulti has been tentatively named for the second (Vallicell. B 23 Missal). The third (Vallicell. B 24; but foll. 118-200 are a later addition) is the famous Subiaco Missal of the year 1075. (Subiaco is about 25 miles East of Rome).

South Italian script has received full treatment in Loew ‘Beneventan Script’ (Oxford, 1914); to which Novak ‘Scriptura Beneventana’ (Zagreb, 1920) makes a useful supplement. tracing the spread of the Beneventan type in the regions East of the Adriatic. But neither Lowe nor Novak tell us much about the ordinary minuscule which competed there (and in the Southern half of the Italian peninsula) with the Beneventan. Did the Farfa type (like the Beneventan) cross the sea? The question has some interest for classical scholars. For our one and only MS. (now at Naples) of Festus ‘ de Verborum significatu ’ has the Farfa-type and was, according to one of its earliest editors, ‘liber advectus, ut ferunt, ex Illyrico’. (It has been reproduced in facsimile by Thewrewk de Ponor, Budapest, 1893). In Class. Quart. X [1916] 106 I adduce evidence of a MS. of Festus at Ceneda in N. Italy when Grausus was bishop there (c. 1000 A. D.).

Will not some Italian palaeographer provide us with a book on Central Italian script (or scripts) like Lowe's book? The first thing to be done is to collect as full a list of Farfa-type MSS. as Lowe collected of MSS. in Beneventan minuscule. That, I repeat, is the purpose of these three plates,

to enable librarians to report the presence of this type in their library. Another plate (of Vat. lat. 3833) will be found in Ehrle and Liebaert 'Specimina' (pl. 35). Others (of Vat. lat. 4770) have just been published in part I of Carusi and de Bartholomaeis 'Monumenti Paleografici degli Abruzzi' (Rome, 1924; pl. x-xi) I hope that the New Palaeographical Society will let us have one of Eton 124. And we may look for a continuation of the Monumenti Paleografici di Roma for additional specimens; for, naturally, this type has great interest for Roman palaeographers, and both it and its various homes have received much attention in the last few years in Italian journals. Since however these publications (of the Roman Historical Society, etc.) may not be accessible to some of my readers, I have asked Mgr. Carusi to write a summary of what is now known of Farfa and Subiaco, as writing-centres. And so I quit the stage and give place to him.

CENNI STORICI SULL'ABBAZIA DI FARFA

PER E. CARUSI.

Dopo i lavori del Balzani e del Giorgi (1) e dopo gli studi più ampi dello Schuster (2) si può dire che sappiamo tutto quanto è possibile conoscere intorno all'abbazia di Farfa.

Del suo primo fondatore, S. Lorenzo Siro, vissuto ai tempi di Giuliano l'apostata, e di sua sorella Susanna abbiamo notizie molto vaghe e incerte.

Il monastero distrutto dai barbari, forse ai tempi di Genserico, o piuttosto dai Longobardi, fu, verso la fine del sec. VII penosamente identificato, non senza l'aiuto divino, come narra la leggenda, dal savoiardo Tommaso di Morienna, che reduce con alcuni compagni dalla Terra santa, persuaso da visioni e apparizioni a rimanere in Sabina, rintracciò l'abbandonata basilica dedicata alla Vergine, presso il colle Acuziano, ai tre cipressi, e ivi protetto da Faroaldo II, duca di Spoleto, riprese l'opera di Lorenzo Siro, instaurando un cenobio sotto la regola di S. Benedetto.

La storia della badia dalle origini al IX sec. (an. 857) ci è narrata dal *Libellus Constructionis Farfensis*, pervenuto monco in un tardo lezionario del sec. XI.

In questo periodo i contatti con la coltura oltramontana si dimostrano dalla serie di abati franchi fino a Ilderico; prin-

(1) *Il Regesto di Farfa e le altre opere di Gregorio di Catino* in *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia patria* vol. II (1879) pp. 409 sgg. L'opera di Gregorio di Catino è pubblicata nella *Biblioteca della Società Romana di Storia Patria* voll. 6; *Biografie Farfensi di Papi del X e dell'XI secolo* in *Archivio* cit. vol. 30, pp. 513 sgg.; e *Ancora delle biografie Farfensi di papi del X e dell'XI secolo*, ibid. vol. 44, pp. 257 sgg. Per le caratteristiche della scrittura Farfense vedansi *Appunti intorno ad alcuni manoscritti del Liber pontificalis* ibid, vol. XX (1897), p. 248 sgg.

(2) *L'imperiale abbazia di Farfa. Contributo alla storia del ducato romano nel medio evo.* Roma, 1921 e anche *Reliquie d'arte nella Badia imperiale di Farfa* in *Arch. della R. Società Romana di storia patria* vol. XXXIV (1911) pp. 269 sgg.; altre op. cit. passim.

cipale fra questi l'amico di re Desiderio l'abate Alano (an. 761-769), che *inter alia bonae operationis exercitia multos etiam mirifice exaravit codices* [1].

A lui successe, dopo il breve governo del rude e intruso anglosassone Guiberto, il Sabinese Probato (772-779) alunno della « schola cantorum » Lateranense, e però a contatto intimo con la coltura romana [2].

In questo primo periodo della vita del monastero larghi furono gli aiuti dei re longobardi e franchi, a cui premeva senza dubbio avere un centro ecclesiastico a loro favorevole, non lontano da Roma [3], sicchè lo sviluppo fu considerevole: da Farfa dipendeva, negli inizi almeno, anche l'abadia di S. Vincenzo al Volturno, e numerose furono le donazioni di beni nei territori limitrofi di Sabina, Umbria e Abruzzi, e nel più lontano Piceno. Cresciute a magnificenza la chiesa e l'abadia, questa ospitò papi, re, imperatori, mentre i duchi di Spoleto largheggiavano in offerte.

L'invasione saracena nel sec. IX fu inizio di danni e dispersioni considerevoli: l'abate Pietro I fu costretto a cedere di fronte alle minacce continue, sicchè, avendo stabilito di abbandonare quel luogo, verso i primi mesi dell'898 divise i suoi monaci in tre schiere col relativo tesoro, una delle quali si diresse a Roma, l'altra a Rieti e la terza, con lui a capo, nel comitato Fermano. Ma neppure qui fu lasciato libero dai Saraceni, che avevano distrutta Farfa; si rifugiò quindi sul Matenano, dal monastero dei SS. Ippolito e Giovanni, e ivi morì nel 919.

Intorno alle vicende fortunose di questo periodo c'informa l'abate Ugo che narrò gli avvenimenti dei secoli IX, X e XI nella sua *Destructio*. Da essa sappiamo la storia delle ignominie dei monaci e abati Campone e Ildebrando, dei tentativi

(1) Cf. A. Ratti, *L'omeliario detto di Carlo Magno e l'omeliario di Alano di Farfa* in *Rendiconti del R. Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere* S. II, vol. 33 (1900) pp. 481 sgg.

(2) Schuster, *Storia del monastero* etc. p. 48, n. 2, dove si cita dalla *Constructio* la testimonianza su Probato: *maxime vero sanctae romanae ecclesiae cantu a pueritia plene imbutus*.

(3) U. Balzani nella Prefazione al *Regesto di Farfa* vol. I (an. 1914) p. X-XI. Tranne il breve dominio di Adriano I, Farfa fu considerata sempre abadia imperiale.

di riforma di Oddone di Cluny, e della serie di avvelenamenti e di miserie morali che afflissero Farfa, finché non salì sul seggio abbaziale Ugo, adoperando un mezzo non lodevole di simonia, che formò per lui continuo assillo di rimorso. Egli fu dotato di non comune energia e si mostrò deciso a ricondurre il suo monastero sulla via delle riforme. Aiutato da Odilone di Cluny si accinse a rinnovare la vita rilasciata dei suoi monaci; con grande energia riordinò il patrimonio, sostenendo lotte vivaci e adoperando mezzi molto persuasivi, quando ne sperava successo. Con lui Farfa risale all'apogeo della gloria, e l'opera letteraria sua si mostra non solo con la *Destructio*, ma anche nella singolare opera del *Querimonium*, dove si vede tutta l'anima battagliera di Ugo e, accanto a questa, la speciale sua attitudine a tessere la storia dei suoi tempi.

Ad Ugo, che morì nel 1039, successe Berardo I, il quale ebbe un lungo governo, e afforzò quella scuola da cui doveva uscire il principale storico farfense: Gregorio di Catino. Costui riassunse e continuò l'opera di Ugo, e nei poderosi volumi del *Regesto* mise insieme tutti i documenti creati con fatica e sacrifizi dal grande abate; sicché, avvalendosi delle fonti monastiche precedenti, egli potè elevare su basi solide l'edificio meraviglioso della storia antica di Farfa e dei suoi tempi (1).

Oltre questa opera, Gregorio compilò il volume del *Largitorius* (2) o libro di concessioni fatte dal monastero, il *Chronicon Farfense* (3) e il *Floriger chartarum*, a cui pose mano vecchio ormai settantenne. In tutti questi scritti è singolare la sua cultura letteraria e il senso storico e giuridico, che mostra nella narrazione di fatti e nell'apprezzamento di questioni che ai suoi tempi agitavano fortemente gli spiriti. Si era allora nel pieno periodo della lotta per le investiture, e Farfa inclinava di più al partito imperiale, sicché a Gregorio di Catino si attribuisce pure l'opuscolo intitolato *Orthodoxia*

(1) V. *Il Regesto*, ed. cit.

(2) Ed. da G. Zucchetti fra i *Regesta chartarum Italiae* promossi dall'*Istituto storico italiano* e dall'*Istituto storico prussiano*.

(3) Ed. da U. Balzani in due vol. nelle *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* dell'*Istituto storico italiano*, 1903.

defensio imperialis, che al Balzani sembra piuttosto opera di un imitatore di Gregorio di Catino [1].

Malgrado la tendenza imperialista, Farfa non fece causa comune con gli antipapi; si accostò all'opera dei Cassinesi guidati dall'abate Desiderio, e cercò di allontanarsi dalle gravi colpe simoniache che inquinavano in quei tempi le corti.

Non è il caso di addentrarsi nelle vicende dell'abazia nei secoli XI e XII, or tristi sì da rinnovare le atrocità del sec. X, or liete da sollevare lo spirito in sfere di santità.

Allontanatisi dal comune di Roma, per liti territoriali contro i signorotti della città eterna, e soprattutto contro i Crescenzi, i monaci Farfensi si accostarono allo scismatico imperatore Enrico V; videro prigioniero nei loro possedimenti Pasquale II; ma tornarono con l'abate Adinolfo II alla causa Romana, ed ebbero cordiali fraterni rapporti con papa Eugenio III, con i Cisterciensi e con S. Bernardo, sì che il beato Gerardo di Farfa passò a Chiaravalle i suoi ultimi giorni.

Nel sec. XIII la decadenza si accentuò, i tentativi di riforma promossi da Gregorio IX fallirono; i monaci si videro devastati i loro territori dalle soldatesche imperiali di Enzo; deboli abati ne governarono le sorti e unica benemerenza è l'aiuto prestato al nuovo ordine dei mendicanti

Nel secolo successivo l'abazia divenne una commenda di nipoti dei papi; vi spadroneggiarono gli Orsini, vi ebbero influenza i monaci tedeschi di Subiaco, sostituiti dai monaci Cassinesi o di S. Giustina di Padova, finchè attraverso il governo di commendatori, quali Cosimo Orsini dei Migliorati, Francesco Barberini e ultimo il Card. Luigi Lambruschini. Benedetto XV nel 1919 approvò l'unione dell'abazia di Farfa con quella di S. Paolo di Roma, decretata dall'abate Schuster, quello stesso che con tanto amore ha seguìto attraverso i secoli l'origine e lo sviluppo di questa grande storica abazia.

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Dell'archivio Farfense ha dato notizie il Kehr [2].

Ma oltre alle pergamene, codici numerosi e riccamente

(1) Prefazione al Regesto cit., p. XXVII.

(2) *Italia Pontificia* vol. I *Roma* nei *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, Berlino 1906, p. 57 sgg.

preparati uscirono dalla scuola scrittoria di Farfa, per cui non poca influenza si ebbe pure sulla scuola sublacense: frate Guittone [1] infatti dichiara di essere stato « eruditus vel enutritus... in venerabili monasterio sancte Dei genitricis Marie, quod ponitur in Farfa ».

Lo Schuster [2] determina l'ubicazione della « Schola » e dello « scriptorium » nella sontuosa badia del sec. X, e dà notizie di quella Biblioteca monastica. Di Alano sappiamo che fece esemplare codici meravigliosi; l'abate Benedetto durante il IX sec. fu largo nel fornire la biblioteca di codici [3]; di un libro « qui appellatur comes » parla il Largitorio [4]. Tra i manoscritti tolti dal monaco Ildebrando nel 939 si ricordano « libros coopertos argento et deauratos IIII^{or} », e poi libri commentari sulla Genesi e sugli evangelisti, una storia dei Longobardi, una Cena di Cipriano ecc. [5]. La biblioteca dell'abate Ugo dovette essere molto ricca, a giudicare dalle citazioni bibliografiche delle sue opere. L'abate Almerico « ornamenta « et librorum volumina in hoc monasterio studiosissime auxit »... « Fertur enim quod artis grammaticae et scripturae divinae « libros quadraginta duos maiores minoresve hic accumulare « curavit » [6].

Ma i codici ora dispersi un po' dapertutto sono, a volte, ricordati dagli autori che li hanno consultati.

Per comodità dello studioso riportiamo dallo Schuster [7] il catalogo della vecchia biblioteca, come egli l'ha potuto ricostruire:

A. Autperti - *Vita Tasonis, Tatonis et Paldonis* (M. G. SS. XI, 522 sgg.).

Regula S. Benedicti (Destructio Farfensis I, 50).

Constructio Farfensis (Destructio Farfensis I, 27).

[1] V. I. Giorgi, *Prefazione al Regesta di Farfa* p. XXXII, il sacramentario di Guittone è conservato nella Vallicelliana sotto la segnatura B. 24.

[2] *Reliquie d'arte nella badia di Farfa*, nell'*Archivio della R. Società, Romana di storia patria*, vol. XXXIV (1911) p. 304 sgg.

[3] Schuster, *L'imperiale abbazia* ed. dal *Chronicon Farfense* I, 21.

[4] Ed. cit. p. 138.

[5] *Regesto* cit. vol. III, 84.

[6] Schuster, *Reliquie d'arte* etc. cit. dal *Chronic. Farfense* II, 118.

[7] *Reliquie* etc. l. c , pp. 306 e 307, n. 1.

Hugonis Abbatis - *Destructio Farfensis* (op. cit. I, 20).
Eiusdem - *Exceptio Relationum de imminutione Monasterii* (Chron. Farf I, 61).
Eiusdem - *Quaerimonium ad Imperatorem de castro Tribuco* (Chron. Farf. I, 73).
Eiusdem - *Relatio Constitutionis* (Chron. Farf. I, 55, 58).
Hugonis Abbatis (?) - *Sermo de S. Laurentio* (Chron. Farf. I, 19 sgg.).
Gregorii Catinensis - *Registrum gemniagraphum* (M. G. SS. XI, 548 sgg.
Eiusdem - *Chron. Farfense* M. G. SS. XI, 548 sgg.).
Eiusdem - *Largitorium Farfense* (M. G. SS. XI, 548 sgg.
Eiusdem - *Floriger* (M. G. SS. XI, 548 sgg.).
Orthodoxa defensio imperialis (M. G. SS. XI, 548 sgg.).
Beraldi (III) *abbatis liber* (cf. K. Heinzelmann *Die Farfenser Streitschriften. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Investiturstreites*, Strassburg 1904).
Super Genesim, libri duo (Chron. Farf. I, 325).
Scintillarem unum (loc. cit.).
Super Lucam (loc. cit.).
Super Iohannem (loc. cit.).
Historia Longobardorum (loc. cit).
Coena Cipriani, librum unum (loc. cit.).
De Civitate Dei (loc. cit.).
Historiarum librum unum (loc. cit.).
Antiphonarium unum (loc. cit.).
Dicta patrum (loc. cit.).
Missalem maiorem cum tabulis argenteis (op. cit. II, 310).
Missale domni Oddonis (M. G. SS. XI, 578).
Textus Evangelii reginae Agnetis (M. G. SS. XI, 578).
Cottidianum Evangelistarium (loc. cit.).
Textus Evangelii, libri III (loc, cit.).
Epistolaria II (loc. cit.).
Orationale (loc. cit).
Psalteria (loc. cit.).
Priscianum valde bonum (loc. cit.).
Nocturnale perfectum (loc. cit.).
Super Isaiam mirificum (loc. cit.).
Super Ezechielem (loc. cit.).

Ovidium (loc. cit.).
Liber comes valens solidos XXX (Chron. Farf. I, 322-3).
Liber Pontificalis (Chron. Farf. II, 234 sgg.).

Inoltre, omettendo i codici Farfensi conservati come fondo a parte nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, ricordiamo soltanto alcuni dei principali manoscritti segnalati dallo Schuster (*Reliquie d'arte* etc. loc. cit., p. 307, n. 1) e dal Giorgi, come esistenti in varie biblioteche, e precisamente:

I. — 1. Cod. Vaticano lat. 296, sec. XII. Frammenti del *Liber pontificalis* in appendice alle opere di S. Ambrogio e di altri padri (cf. GIORGI *Appunti* etc. l. c. p. 273). I frammenti sono conservati ora nel Cod. Vat. 10935.
2. Cod. Vat. lat. 766. Frammenti del *Liber Pontificalis* di scrittura farfense o sublacense del sec. X-XI (cf. GIORGI, op. cit. 275). I frammenti sono ora nel Cod. Vat. lat. 10935).
3. Cod. Vat. lat. 3761. Sec. X-XI. *Liber pontificalis* (cf. GIORGI op. cit., p. 261).
4. Cod. Vat. lat. 3764. Sec. XI-XII. *Liber pontificalis* (cf. GIORGI op. cit. p. 366 sgg.).
5. Cod. Vat. lat. 6808. Sec. XI-XII. Miscellanea di varie opere, fra cui: Guido, monaco farfense, *Perfectus usus sive ordo ad ornandam ecclesiam.*
6. Cod. Vat. lat. 8487. Sec. XI. Regesto di Farfa.
7. Cod. Vat. Palat. 1811. Miscellanea descritta dal GIORGI op. cit., p. 276. I frammenti del *Liber pontificalis* sono ora nel Cod. Vat. 10935.
8. Cod. Vat. Chigiano A. V. 141. Sec. XI. Dialoghi di S. Gregorio.
9. Cod. Vat. Chigiano. A. VI. 164. Sec. XI. Evangeli e collezioni canoniche.
10. Cod. Vat. Chigiano. A. VI. 177. Sec. XI. Breviario monastico.

II. — Bibl. Casanatense. Cod. 2010. Sec. XI. Canoni e frammenti del *Liber pontificalis* (cf. GIORGI op. e l. cit., p. 278 sgg.).

III. — Bibl. Alessandrina. Cod. 234. *Diurnale monasticum* del sec. XIV ex., cf. E. NARDUCCI, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum praeter orientales qui in bibl. Alexandrina Romae asservantur*, Romae 1877.

IV. — Bibl. Comunale di Assisi n. 227 (cf. GIORGI *Biografie Farfensi* loc. cit. p. 516 n. 2),

V. — Napoli. Bibl. Nazionale. Cod. Farnesiano IV. A. 3 (cf. LINDSAY *Sexti Pompei Festi De verborum significatione quae supersunt cum Pauli epitome*. Lipsiae, Teubner, 1913).

VI. — Inghilterra. Eton College. Cod. 124 (cf. GRISAR *Die alte Peterskirche zu Rom* in *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde*, IX, 237).

VII. — Svizzera. Zurigo. Cod. 82. Sec. XI. Breviario monastico.

Altri codici riguardanti Farfa e la sua storia, di data recente, sono indicati dallo Schuster *Frammenti* loc. cit.

CENNI STORICI SUI MONASTERI SUBLACENSI [1].

PER E. CARUSI.

Sul monte roccioso di Subiaco sovrastante una vallata incantevole ricca di acque e di selve s. Benedetto fermò la sua dimora prima ancora di portare a Montecassino il suo ardore di vita cristiana. Egli volle cambiare in santa la turpe vallata Neroniana, ma lo spirito del tiranno romano vi aleggiava ancora, se vogliamo prestar fede alla leggenda del prete Florenzio, nemico del santo.

Dopo s. Benedetto un altro santo resse le sorti dell'abazia, s. Onorato, come pare attestino le lettere di s. Gregorio I.

Ma vaghe e incerte notizie si susseguono; sappiamo così che il monastero o i monasteri benedettini sorti a Subiaco furono distrutti e invasi a riprese dalle orde dei Longobardi, dei Saraceni (an. 846), finché l'abate Pietro (an. 852) restaurò il monastero.

Si hanno allora dal *Liber pontificalis*, fra le altre fonti, notizie più precise sulle chiese del Sacro Speco e dei ss. Benedetto e Scolastica, la futura Badia, erette entrambi su altre più antiche.

Bisogna arrivare al sec. X per avere informazioni particolareggiate sul governo dell'abate Leone II, il grande amico di Teofilatto, quando cominciò la magnificenza vera di Subiaco, sotto la protezione di Giovanni X. Alberico, il grande senatore di Roma, ne accrebbe le ricchezze, e a sua istanza nel 936 Leone VII sottoscrisse un lungo diploma di concessioni. I favori di Stefano VIII, di Ugo re d'Italia, di Lotario e di Marozia ricompensano a iosa i danni arrecati dagli Ungari, e quando nel 963 morì Leone « Sanctissimus abbas »,

[1] Vedi *I Monasteri di Subiaco*. I. P. Egidi, *Notizie storiche;* G. Giovannoni, *L'architettura;* F. Hermanin, *Gli affreschi*. II. V. Federici, *La Biblioteca e l'Archivio,* Roma a cura e spese del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. O. F. Kehr, in *Italia Pontificia,* vol. II, Latium, 1907, pp. 83 sgg.

Subiaco aveva raggiunto un periodo veramente grande di splendore.

A differenza di Farfa, con cui pure ebbe continui rapporti, Subiaco s'immischiò poco o nulla nella vita pubblica; l'abate Giorgio non prese parte attiva nella lotta delle investiture, e malgrado la decadenza religiosa per cui occorsero gli aiuti dei Cluniacensi e di Alberico, Subiaco difesa poi dai Crescenzi, si mantenne in viva ostilità contro i Tuscolani.

In questo tempo l'abate Umberto « natione Francus » parteggia per l'antipapa, ma viene costretto ad obbedienza da Ildebrando; e Desiderio di Montecassino lo scaccia a viva forza nel 1067.

Sotto l'abate Giovanni VII la biblioteca di Subiaco si arricchisce di codici scritti specialmente da Farfensi o educati a quella scuola, tale ad es. quel Guittone, l'opera del quale si ammira nel *Sacramentario* ora codice Vallicelliano B. 24.

Dopo Giovanni VII le lotte contro il vicino comune di Tivoli con l'abate Pietro († 1145), più guerriero che frate, la rilasciatezza dei costumi, conseguenza di un periodo vivace di lotte, produssero un decadimento a cui poco giovò l'opera di restaurazione di Innocenzo III. Si ha una sosta nel tempo degli abati Giovanni VIII e Lando fedeli al papa, anche nei momenti più perigliosi di lotta contro Federico II.

Sotto di lui venne pellegrino a Subiaco, abbellita dall'opera dei Cosmati, s. Francesco d'Assisi; e al tempo di Lando vi si ritirò il vecchio papa Gregorio IX.

Poco dopo, la lotta dei due monasteri Sublacensi, l'attività nefasta degli abati Pelagio e Francesco di casa Caetani, la quale accentua il dissidio contro il comune di Subiaco, produce quel dissolvimento, che rende necessaria l'opera di amministratori apostolici, con cui s'inizia la vera decadenza dei monasteri Sublacensi. A nulla giovano i tentativi di salvataggio fatti dal Cassinese Bartolomeo e dall'abate Giovanni IX che ordinò sui suoi averi un censo per comprar libri, periodo questo di relativa tranquillità e di cultura, quando furono preparati numerosi codici, che forse ammirò Francesco Petrarca nella sua visita al Sacro Speco.

Subiaco sentì fortemente i guasti del terremoto del 1349 e l'opera deleteria dell'abate Pietro, del francese Ademaro,

dell'abate Corrado, che resero necessarie riforme purtroppo sempre passeggere e inefficaci.

L'abate Bartolomeo tentò un rimedio a tanti mali con un'immissione di frati tedeschi, espellendo gl'italiani; ciò favorì la preparazione di un riformatore della vita benedettina dell'Austria meridionale, l'abate Nicola d'Austria o Nicola di Matzen; ma le lotte interne, le ristrettezze finanziarie, malgrado le fusioni di varii monasteri anche romani, quali S. Erasmo sul Celio e S. Teodoro presso Porta Maggiore, affrettarono la rovina, e a nulla valsero le benemerenze del monastero per la restaurazione della potenza della Chiesa così energicamente tentata dal Card. Vitelleschi.

Callisto III nomina abate di Subiaco il fiero cardinale spagnuolo G. de Turrecremata, sotto cui vennero a Subiaco i primi stampatori tedeschi Corrado di Pannartz e Arnoldo Schweyneim; a lui succede il cardinale Rodrigo Borgia, e dopo le passeggere e contrastate unioni dei Sublacensi con i Farfensi e i Cassinesi, il sistema della commenda si afferma decisamente, e attraverso insignificanti innovazioni si arriva al 1872, quando i Sublacensi formano una congregazione a parte, sviluppando le peculiari loro energie.

* * *

I manoscritti sublacensi dispersi in varii modi si possono far risalire, per il periodo più antico, al tempo dell'abate Giovanni VII (1068-1120) a cui appartengono il *Regesto*, il *Sacramentario sublacense*, il *Breviario monastico* e il *Salterio di S. Girolamo*.

Catalogi di manoscritti nei secoli XIV-XV, ricordi di donazioni in queste ed altre epoche posteriori sono raccolte dal Federici [1] che dei codici e documenti più numerosi sublacensi dà una sommaria, ma compiuta descrizione.

(1) Federici, p. IV sgg.

COLLECTANEA VARIA

(Continued)

BY W. M LINDSAY

IV. — Scribes and their Ways.

(Continued from Part II, p. 30).

1. A Satire on a Scribe.

Since (as I learn through Prof. Strecker's kindness), the satirical poem in Vat. Pal. lat. 153 has been, by some misfortune, overlooked in the collection of material for Mon. Germ. Hist., I print it here. The MS. (of " saec. ix ant. ") contains Ioannes Constantinopolitanus in Epistolam ad Hebreos and is written by many scribes (of whom the first is the best) in the Tours type of minuscule. The whole MS. has been carefully corrected.

The poem stands on the fly-leaf (fol. 2^r), and has been altered here and there by the (chief) corrector of the MS

Hoc correxit opus d(om)ni
— Iusserat hoc scribi sumptibus ille suis —; (*corr.* ipse
Codicibus multis coram residente magistro (*corr.* censente
  Rettulit ad priscam multa legendo fidem;
Quod nisi fecisset, mendosum spernere librum
  Quilibet insignis vellet ab arte cito;
Nam scriptor quidam — nomen ne quaere sodalis —
  Et quae vera capit mox ea falsa facit:
Permemor ille sui nimium morisque vetusti (*corr.* Hic memor
  Pro quovis vitio sparserat usque decem.
Quid faceret? corruptus erat per singula codex
— Is doctis manibus saepe tenendus item —;
Plurima raduntur, partem ne trunca manerent,
  Plurima nec fuerant, plurima rursus erant.
Consilio potuit non uno occurrere cunctis:
  Hic trivisse nimis tempora longa vides.
Ardua praetereo; refugit iactare laborem
  Rite verecundus, maxima quaeque gerit.
Non retices illum, bis bine quaternio, quanquam

Sit modo sollerti pagina versa manu;
Praeterea parcat citius qui forte movetur
Pagina quod sordet pumice rasa diu.
At quicumque legens eadem scribensve probasti
Dic ' mercedis ei sit, bone Christe, polus;
Ignoscas etiam Rigulfo sponte precamur (*corr.* scriptori)
Nam nunquam melius scripserat ille librum '. (*corr.* Nam melius nullum)

So Rigulfus was the scribe. And the author of this poem was the corrector of the MS.; and it is the author's own hand which has penned the marginal alterations of this poem. And the MS. was written at the order of — whom? The Prefect of the Vaticana applied a re-agent to the erased ending of the first line, but all that we could see (or seem to see) was a double name ...z f... , and even the final *z* and the opening *f* were not free from doubt.

Notes: 3. So the corrector was a young man, still dependent on his *magister*. 6. i. e quilibet insignis ab arte. 7. The last word is rather Gen. than Voc. 13-14. i. e. deletion is practised by the corrector (1) of torso-sentences, (2) of insertions, (3) of repetitions. The first practice is alarming. If the transcriber ruined a sentence by omitting a part, did the corrector complete the ruin by deleting the rest of the sentence? I did not find any example of this recklessness in this MS. On the contrary, there were many long supplements of omissions.

19. The fourth quire is indeed crowded with corrections, some of them very radical; ex. g. *neque isti pedes sed animae ille quidem meditantes* is corrected to *neque isti pedes tantum sed insuper animae illi quidem ut meditentur*.

J. An old Recipe for Gold and Silver Script.

The Liber Glossarum or Glossarium Ansileubi, that enormous dictionary-encyclopaedia of Charlemagne's time, contains (s. v. Liber) an old recipe for gold script. Perhaps this item comes (as others certainly do) from Isidore's Liber Artium. It is labelled in the MSS. P = Paris lat. 11529-30, L = Vat. Pal. lat. 1773) with his name.

(LI 158) Libri vocantur a libertate legentium; remotis enim olim ab hoc officio servis, solis tantum liberis studium

legendi dabatur. Scribebantur quoque et libri aureis vel argenteis litteris huiusmodi facta confectione: argenteas litteras facies si ⟨a⟩eris flos et alumen ⟨a⟩equis ponderibus in argento contriveris: aureas litteras facies si alumen et ⟨a⟩eris flos et ⟨a⟩equo pondere aceto infusum de auro in auro usque ad mellis Attici crassitudinem triti perduxeris. Aereum colorem litteris rebusque alii⟨s⟩ facies si sal et alumen rotundum ⟨a⟩equi ponderis in eo vasculo aceto infusum in aeramento teras usque mellis Attici crassitudinem. Hoc etiam ferrum facit.

a liberalitate *P.* olim *om. L.* aereamento *L.*

VII. — Deletion.

We delete a word, syllable or letter nowadays by drawing a stroke through it with our pen, but the ancient practice was deletion by dots (under, above or both) and *expungo* 'I cancel', is as old as Plautus (Cist, 189, etc.). My (desultory) notes on MSS. of our period provide a mass of statistics which hardly seems worth printing here. One or two details may be selected for mention.

A single dot below (or above) is easily overlooked, and this should not be forgotten when we test the claim of one MS. to be a direct transcription from another, especially if the posited exemplar be a corrected MS. It will not do to argue that A cannot be the exemplar of B, since B shares the erroneous reading of most MSS. — let us say — *victa*, whereas A offers the true reading *vita*. If what A really offers is *victa* with a dot of expunction under the *c*, a transcriber might easily overlook the dot.

A triangle of dots was often substituted as more recognizable (or ornamental) than the single dot; and my notes suggest that this was an Insular practice: Book of Armagh (when under, not above, the letter or syllable the triangle has its base uppermost); Wigbald Gospels (red dots; also a red bracket before and after an erroneous passage); Munich 14653 (Anglosaxon script of Ratisbon, "saec. viii"); Basle F III 15 d Consentius (Insular minuscule, "saec. viii"); Vat. Pal. lat. 202 (Anglosaxon, Lorsch, "saec. viii-ix"); Durham

A II 17, part I (e. g. 40^{v} *quis es* wrongly repeated); Boulogne 64 Augustini Epistolae (Anglosaxon, St Bertin, "saec. viii"; e. g. fol. 5^{r}).

Our cancelling stroke was however not unknown (e. g. Berne Horace, p. 129; Oxford lat. th. d 3), and I fancy that abbreviation-symbols like (the older) 'quidem' (Notae Latinae p. 251 qd with both letters traversed by an oblique stroke downwards from right to left), 'quam' (ibid. p. 215) 'dicit', etc. (ibid. p. 44), 'respondit', etc. (ibid. p. 274), 'res' (ibid. p. 273), etc., must often have been omitted by transcribers who believed them to be cancelled letters or letter-groups. Probably it was the danger of this confusion which led to the disuse, one after another, of these cross-stroke symbols. The scribe of the Milan (D 268 inf.) Ambrose avoids this danger by making the stroke (horizontal) above, not through, the word (e. g. fol. 15^{r} *virtutem*, wrongly repeated). But he merely runs into another danger, for he (like other scribes) has precisely the same method of indicating foreign words (cf. Palae. Lat. II p. 19). Similarly in St Petersburg Q XIV 1 (Anglosaxon script, Corbie) a line is sometimes drawn above a cancelled word, as above a foreign word. Sometimes it is drawn in this MS. below the cancelled word (as in Paris 13386, of "saec. viii"; Vat. Pal. lat. 829; Oxford Laud. lat. 92); and this is Ratbert's practice in St Petersburg F I 6.

In the half-uncial Paris 13367 (Corbie) a whole passage is cancelled on fol. 169^{v}, and the scribe (or contemporary corrector) writes in the margin TRANSI.

Sci aug de trinitate . xiii libro u
in uno codice
Liber de abusiuis . Interrogationo
quaestionibus fidei . exemplar f
nini prbri & symbolum quam
theodorus archieps brittaniae
gregorii nazanzeni in uno codice
Aug ad epm eutropium & paulu d
iustitiae hominis
Item eiusdem aduersus quinq: he
Item de libero arbitrio uoluntatis
pelagione in uno codice
Libri sci aug iii . de utilitate cred
ratum . & ad eundem de gratia no
& de natura boni in uno codice
Item eiusdem de beata uita & de inmo
animae in uno codice
Excerptio prosperi . ex libro de trin
Libri . vii . sci aug de baptismo in u
Eiusdem de pastoribus
Aug in libro geneseos contra ma
Item aug de libero arbitrio lib . ii .
one liber . i . in uno codice

S c̄i aug̃ de trinitate .xiii. libro usque in fine
in uno codice

L iber de abusiuis. Interrogationes s̄c̄i aug̃ de
quaestionibus fidei. Exemplar fidei s̄c̄i hiero
nimi p̄rb̄ri. & symbolum quam conposuit
theodorus archiep̄s brittaniae insulae. & lib
gregorii nazanzeni in uno codice

A ug̃ ad ep̄m eutropium & paulū de perfectione
iustitiae hominis

I tem eiusdem aduersus quinq; hereses

I tem de libero arbitrio uoluntatis & de uera
religione in uno codice

L ibri s̄c̄i aug̃ .iii. de utilitate credendi ad hono
ratum. & ad eundem de gratia noui testamenti.
& de natura boni in uno codice

I te eiusdem de beata uita & de inmortalitate
animae in uno codice

E xcerptio prosperi ex libro de trinitate s̄c̄i aug̃

L ibri .vii. s̄c̄i aug̃ de baptismo in uno codice

E iusdem de pastoribus

A ug̃ in libro geneseos contra manicheos

I tē aug̃ de libero arbitrio lib .ii. de uera religi
one liber .i. in uno codice

S ermo s̄c̄i aug̃ in epistolam ad romanos

I tē eiusdem ad consentium lib .i. & eiusdem
de mendacio lib .i. in uno codice

S c̄i aug̃ de agone xp̄iano. & eiusdem ad aure
lium de opere monachorum in uno codice

III.

Item eiusdem de octo questionib;
ex ueteri testamento que sic
incip̄ generalem iustitiā. & sic fi
niunt sed iam arietes in grege
In uno uolum̄
Sermo sci aug̃ de euangelica
lectione id est de spū blasphe
miae. liber sci fulgentii epi
de pdistinatione ad monimmē
filium. Item sermo aug̃ de eo
quod scriptum est si peccaue
rit in te frater tuus corripe eū
inter te & ipsum & in salomo
ne inueniens oculis cū dolo
congregat hominib; maesti
ciam qui autē arguit palā
pacem fac̄. Item eiusdē
de eodem sermo contra
iudaeos. Item sermo de bo
no uiduitatis in uno uolum̄

EXCERPTIO PROSPE
ri ex lib de trinitate sci ag

I De unitate patris & filii &
spū sci qui sunt unus & so
lus ac uerus ds

II Quod unigenitus di filius
propt formā sermo mi
nor a patre dicat qui in
forma di aequalis ē patri

III De regno qd patris filius
dicitur traditurus

IIII Quomodo traditurus sit
regnū filius patri

V Quod discretione intel
legendus sit. nunc aequa
lis patri filius nunc minor

VI De unitate psone filii di
& filii hominis siue in gloria
siue in humilitate

VII De his scripturae locis de quibus
dubium est an ppt ad suptam
creaturam minorē patre
indicent filiū an uero hoc tan
tū qd de patre sit doceant

VIII De his quis spm scm non minorē
patre indicant sed tantū qd de

VIIII Quod clarificatio ꝰ patre sit
quae sit inter patrē & filium
& spm scm nullā differentiā
in trinitate significent

X Quomodo intellegenda sit mis
sio siue filii siue spū sci.

XI Quid sit quod nusquā legitur
pater maior spū scō aut spūs
scs minor patre

XII De uisione danihelis in qua ei
& patris & filii psona appa
ruit specie corporali

XIII De prouidentia di qua uni
uersitas regitur

XIIII De opere di quo omnis crea
tura administratur quo
& multa ordini consuetudinis

XV Esse sententiam ꝰ inseritur
trinitatis nūquā oculis appa
ruisse mortaliū sed p subiectā
sibi creaturā significasse quod uoluit

XVI De finib, scientiae xpianae quae
qua de caritate oritur
non inflatur

XVII De gratia di quae sibi humanā
genus reconciliat ut salue
tur quod perierat

XVIII De simplo saluatoris qd [illegible]

x1·ld

ous

dissolutē abeis exigere uoluisti; Tibi siquidem
cogitanti quis possit totius mundi tenere pr
incipatū· uolens dñs regnaturos ostendere;
huiusmodi somnium reuelauit; Uidisti enim
statuā ualde pcerā· cuius caput quidem erat
aureū· humeri uero & brachia argentea·
Venter autē & femora aerea· crura pedesq;
ferrea; Deinde uidisti lapidē de monte
abruptū cecidisse sup statuā· eamq; p sta
tā conteruisse [truisse] totā· & nullam eius partē
Integrā relinquisse; Aurū uero & argentum
& aes plus farina contritum· & spū uehem
te flante dereptū atq; dispersum· Lapi
dem uero creuisse tantum· ita ut omnis terra
ab eo uideretur Impleta; Somniū itaq; qđ ui
disti hoc ē· cuius intptatio hunc habet modū;
Caput quidem aureum te significat & qui
ante te Ingente babylonia regnauerunt;
Duae in quib; manus & humeri· Indicant·
qm̄ a duobus regibus ur̄ possit de tuo princi
patus; Illorum denuo Alter quidem ab occi
dente erit destructurus imperium similis
aeramento· Cuius rursus regnum cessare faciet
qui ferro uidetur aequalis; Tenebitq; omia·
quam de [sicut] ferri natura [est] strobustior auro &

turacte: sic enim fi<turu
& hebraei iustitiam impetra
& tu ministrando solido fa
cere pp̄ri quam. v.

Haec enim raguhel monente
excepit. & secundū ei' modi dic
celans consilium eius. nec sum
asionem. sed ipsius errorem eius
manifestaret. Nam & in lib
conscripsit inuentore p̄dictae
eē crederis ut omnib; notā fac
Licet ei soli potuissent p̄bere
ab aliis inuentae. Facta es
nus uirtus potuisse moysi & ia
tate cognosci sed de his qui
in scriptura alia declarabim
aū conuocata multitudine ip
te sina taurx se esse dicebat ta
surus & alia quid ab eo ualep c
remeaturus. Illos uero p̄cepit
tabernacula sua ponere e uici

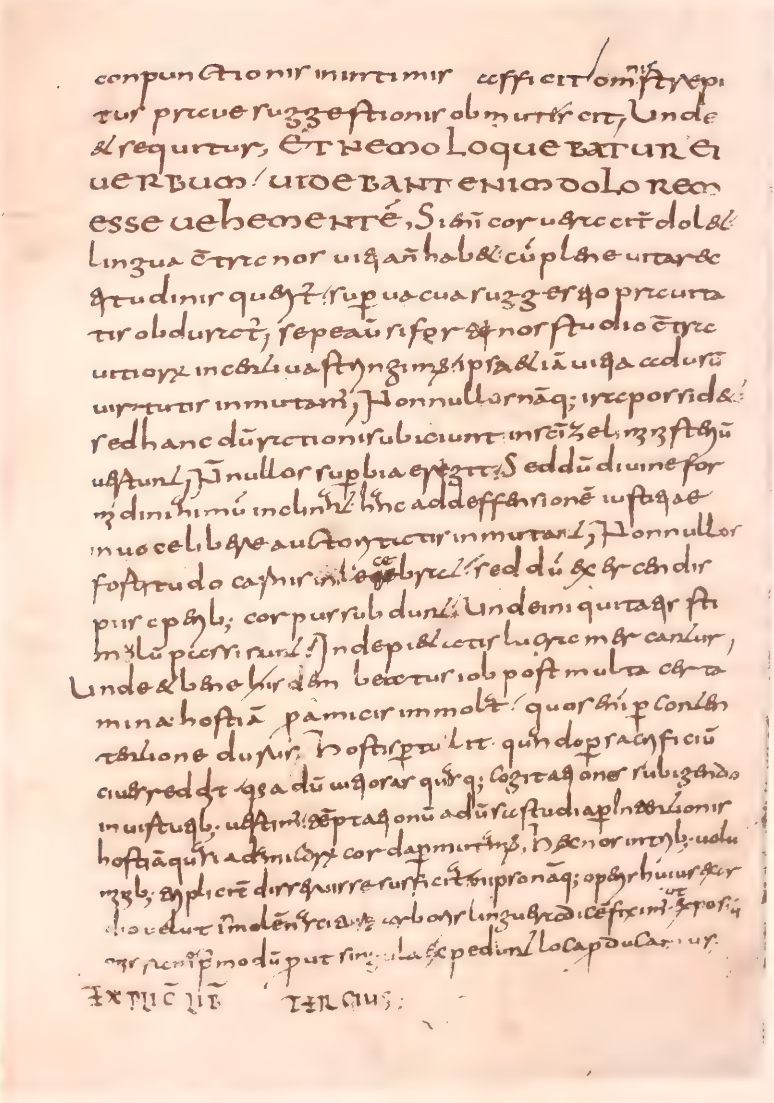
Haec cum dixisset ascende
sina qui excellentissimus ē in
& p̄p̄ altitudinem magnitudin
lorum p̄ceritatem n̄ solum hom
bilis sed etiam qui uideri sine c

turadte: sicenim fieli utrumq: quatenus
& hebraei iustitiam impetrare mererentur;
& eum ministrando solidō faciat eū exercitu
erreppitum. Γv·
Haecenim raguhel monente moyses libentē
excepit. & secundū ei' modi dictum fecit non
celans consilium eius. nec sum faciens illius su
asionem. sed ipsu uero torem eius ei omnipopulo
manifestens. Nam & in libris suis raguhel
conscripsit in ubi tempore ꝑdicta ea. Optimum
eē credens ut omnib: notā faceret ueritatem.
Licet a soli potuissent ꝑ bere gloria quae
ab aliosum in ubi factū est. itaq: quate
nus uirtus potuisse moysi & iam & haec uolun
tate cognosci. sed de his quidem oportune
in scriptura alia declarabimus. Moyses
aū conuocata multitudine ipse quidem admon
te sinai tunc se esse dicebat tamquā d̄o man
surus & alia quid ab eo utile ꝑcipiens adeo sit
remeaturus. Illorum uero ꝑcepit iuxta montem
tabernacula suae ponere e uicinitatē di tenere
Haec cum dixisset ascendebat in montē Γvi
sinai qui excellentis simus ē in illis regionibus
& ꝑ altitudinem magnitudinis suae & scopu
lorum ꝑcoritatem nō solum hominib: inaccessi
bilis sed & iam qui uideri sine aspectus labore

moyses congre
tur in populo
conuiron &
& docetur

Haec tamen septima erit sabbatū nr̄m·
cuius finis non erit uespere· sed domini
cus dies· uelut octauus aet̄nus· qui xp̄i re
surrectione sacratus est aet̄nam non so
lum sp̄s· uerum &iā corporis ꝓ requiem
prę figurans· ibi uacabimus & uidebim;
& amabimus· & laudabimus· Ecce quod
erit in fine sine fine· nam quis alius nr̄
est finis· nisi ꝑ uenire ad regnum cuius nul
lus est finis· Uideor aūt mihi debitum in
gentis huius operis adiuuante dn̄o reddi
disse· quib; parū ł quib; nimium est· mihi
ignoscant· quib; aūt satis est· non mihi
sed dō mecum gratias congratulantes
agant· AMEN· EXPL DE CIUITATE DI
LIBRI XXII AURELI AUGUSTINI EPISCOPI
SCAE LEGIS CATHOLICAE ;

ORA PRO ME SCRIBTORE
DONADEO SERUO
TUO SI DM̄
HABES
ADIUTO
REM


conpunctionis intimis afficit, omnis strepi-
tus pravae suggestionis obmutescit. Unde
et sequitur, ET NEMO LOQUEBATUR EI
VERBUM; UIDEBANT ENIM DOLOREM
ESSE UEHEMENTEM. Si enim cor [illegible] dolet,
lingua contra nos usquam non habet, cum plene [illegible]
consuetudinis quietis [illegible] suggestionis procura-
tis obduratur; saepe autem sicut et nos studio contra
vitiorum in certamina astringimus, ipsa etiam vitia ad durum
virtutis immutant. Nonnullos namque [illegible]
sed hanc duritionis subiciunt [illegible] zeli [illegible]
[illegible]. Nonnullos superbia [illegible]. Sed dum divinae for-
midinis [illegible] inclinatur, hanc ad defensionem iustitiae
in voce libertatis auctoritatis immutant. Nonnullos
fortitudo [illegible] sed dum [illegible]
[illegible] corpus subdunt. Unde [illegible]
[illegible]. Unde [illegible]
Unde et bene hic dum beatus Iob post multa certa-
mina hostiam pro amicis immolat, quos [illegible] conten-
tione dura [illegible] hostiis [illegible] quando sacrificium
eius reddit [illegible] quaeque cogitationes subigendo
in vitiis [illegible] ad [illegible] studia [illegible]
hostiam [illegible] cor [illegible]
[illegible] explicare [illegible] sufficit, supra namque operis huius [illegible]
[illegible] indumentis [illegible] linguis [illegible]
[illegible] modum [illegible] singula [illegible] loca perducatur.

EXPLIC LIB TERTIUS

trad
tē di
ytucq
Meliur

Quisq; tū considerat & sensū sacrae locu
tionis ignorat; non tantu eruditione in
struit; quā ambiguitate confundit;
Quia nonnūquā sibi litterae uerba con
tradicunt; Sed dū a sem& ipsis p contrariet&ac
tē dissidunt; lectorem ad intellegentiam ue
ritatis mittunt; Quid est enī quod salomon ait;
Melius ē comedere & bibere; Et nō longe post
subicit; Melius ē ire ad domū luctus quā ad
domū conuiuii; Cur luctū conuiuio praetulit
qui prius esū potūq; laudauit; Si enim p elec
tione bonū ē comedere & bibere; procul dubio
esse melius deb& ad domū gaudii quā ad domū
lamentationis properare; Hinc ē quod rursū dicit;
Laetare iuuenis in adolescentia tua; Et paulo post
subicit; Adolescentia enim & uoluptas uanae
sunt; Quid est hoc quod prius reprehendenda
praecipit & post praecepta reprehendit;
Nisi quod ipsis litterae uerbis innuit ut qui diffi
cultatē exterius patitur; ueritatis intellegentiā
consider& quae sequatur; Quā nimirū ueritatis in
intellegentia cum p cordis humilitatē quaerit legendi
assiduitate pen&ret; Sic enī notorū hominū facies
cernimus & corda nesciamus; Sed si familiari eis locuti
one coniungimur usu colloquii eorū & iā cogitationes

Tr sub occasione templi di in sacerdotum lucra cedenti. haec pessima
pharisaeorum traditio de alia.

quiuerit est pater. oblatio dni praeponatur parentum
muneribus. Uel certe ipsi parentes. quae deo consecrata
cernebant. ne sacrilegii crimen incurrerent declinan
tes egestate conficiebantur. Atque hoc fiebat ut oblatio
liberorum di .i. occasione ueniebat. multi habentes
obligatos de re aliena. et nolentes sibi creditum reddere, de
legabant sacerdotibus. ut exacta pecunia ministris
templi et opum usibus deseruiret. Potest autem et nunc
breuiter habere sensum. Munus quod ex me est tibi pro
derit. Compellitis inquit filios. Ut dicant parentibus suis.
Quodcumque donum oblaturus eram deo in tuos consumo cibos
tibique prodest. O pater et mater. ut illi timentes accipere
quod deo uiderent mancipatum. inopem magis uellent uitam
ducere. quam comedere de consecratis. Non quod intrat
in os coinquinat hominem sed quod procedit ex ore hoc
coinquinat hominem. Uerbum communicat proprie
scripturarum est. et publico sermone pollitur. popu
lus iudaeorum partem di esse se iactitans. Communes cibos
uocat. quibus omnes utuntur homines. uerbi gratia suillam
carnem. ostreas. lepores. et istius modi animantia. quae
ungulam non findunt. nec ... ruminant. nec squa

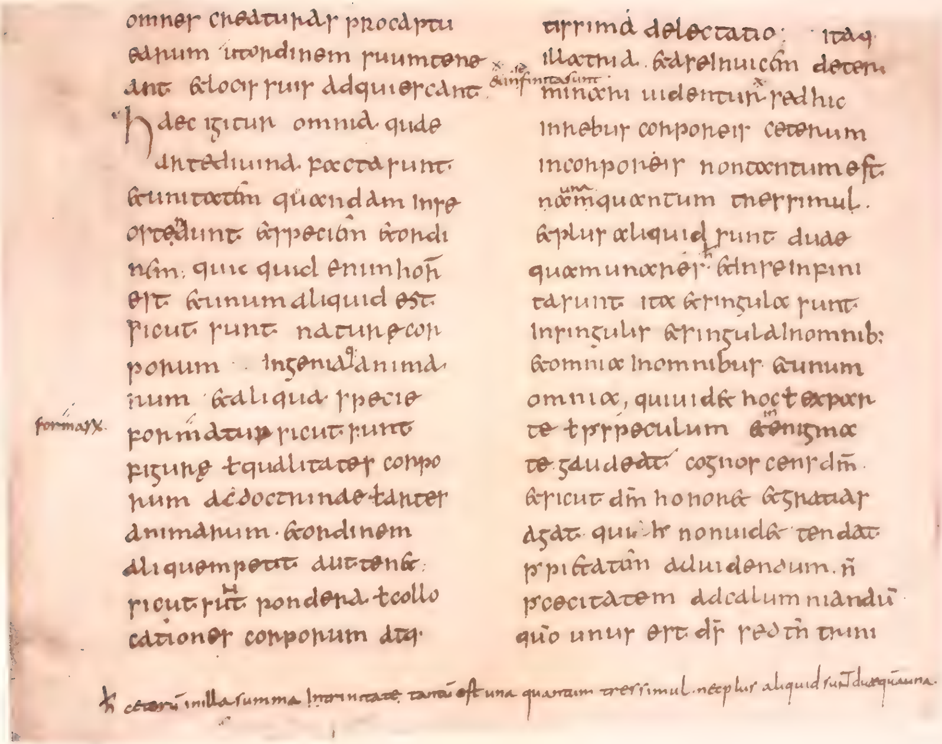
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perseveraret quippe in timore suo donec veniret hierusalem at que illud quod
ait ecce eicio daemonia et sanitates perficio hodie et cras et tertia die con
summor. Mystice ab illo et supra dicta intelleguntur neque enim eo die
passurus erat qui restat ab hoc die tertius cum continuo dicat oportet me hodie
et cras et sequenti ambulare cogit profecto etiam illud mystice intellegi quod
ait et non videbitis me donec veniat cum dicetis benedictus qui venit in nomine
domini. de illo suo adventu quo in claritate venturus est hoc significans ut illud
quod ait eicio daemonia et sanitates perficio hodie et cras et tertia die
consummor referatur ad corpus eius quod est ecclesia expelluntur enim
daemonia cum relictis paternis superstitionibus credunt in eum gentes
et perficiuntur sanitates cum secundum eius praecepta vivitur postea
quam fuerat diabolo et huic saeculo renuntiatum usque in finem resur
rectionis. qua tamquam tertia consummabitur hoc est ad plenitudinem
angelicam per corporis etiam inmortalitatem perficietur ecclesia qua
propter ordo iste mathei nequaquam putandus est in aliud aliquid eo
digressus sed lucas magis intellegendus est vel praeoccupasse quae gesta
sunt in hierusalem et recordando interposuisse antequam eius
narratio dominum perduceret in hierusalem aut eidem civitati iam propin
quantem talia respondisse monentibus ut caveret herodem qualia matt
theus eum dicit etiam turbis locutum cum iam pervenisset in hierusa
lem atque illa omnia iam peracta esse quae ipsa narraverunt

Quid sit hodie eicio
daemonia eicio
et tertia die consummor

LXXVI

Plate X.


omnes creaturas procreatur
earum in ordinem suum teno
ant et locis suis adquiescant.
Haec igitur omnia quae
ante diuina facta sunt
et unitatem quandam ipse
ostendunt et speciem et condi
tionem; quia quid enim hoc
est et unum aliquid est.
sicut sunt naturae cor
porum ingenia animarum et aliqua specie
formata sicut sunt
figurae et qualitates corpo
rum ac doctrinae tantae
animarum et ordinem
aliquem petit aut tenet:
sicut sunt pondera et collo
cationes corporum atque

anima delectatio; itaque
illa trinitas et ars et uita deter
minata uidentur sed hic
in rebus conposita ceterum
in conpositis non tantum est
una quantum tres simul.
et plus aliquid sunt duae
quam una res et in se infini
ta sunt. ita et singula sunt
in singulis et singula in omnibus:
et omnia in omnibus et unum
omnia, qui uidet hoc et ex parte
et per speculum in enigmate
gaudeat cognoscens deum
et sicut deum honoret et gratias
agat. qui autem non uidet tendat
per pietatem ad uidendum. non
per caecitatem ad calumniandum.
quoniam unus est deus sed tamen trini

ceterum in illa summa trinitate tantum est una quantum tres simul. nec plus aliquid sunt duae quam una.

Lorsch

ueniam inmereamur accipere & inferni penam eua
dere. et ad eternam beatitudinem peruenire. Humi
liemus. ieiuniis. uigiliis. maceremus scienter quia
cor contritum & humiliatum ds non spernit. Sicenim a
postolus ait. castigo corpus meum & in seruitutem subi
cio; si laboremus per carnem nostram laboremus & pro anima
nostra si seruiuimus per carne. si satiamus carnem.
ornamus carnem. quam post paucos annos
uermes deuorati sunt in sepulchro. Quan
to magis non debemus dispicere animam.
que deo & angelis presentatur in celo. Mi
nime fratres carissimi quia quando. corpo copio
sis deliciis satiatur. et habundantia uino
nimis inficitur. paululum luxorie uinum
sequitur. et ca uigimium prouidetur. Ite
rum rogo uos fratres aspicite ad sepulchra
diuitum. & quotiens iuxta illa transitis. Con
siderate & diligenter inspicite. Ubi sunt
illorum diuitie ubi ornamenta ubi honor

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incl
India
rum
pic

claudunt atque ambiunt. Ita quae fit ut [illegible] esse ut rethori-
cis dialecticis locis dialecticis ulterius suppositi esse con-
tineantur, et rethor enim quo causas ex circumstantiis
tractat et his quidem circumstantiis argumenta su-
mit. [illegible] esse ab universalibus et simplicio-
ribus [illegible] sumunt dialectici. Dialecticus ve-
ro quippe prior est posterioribus non eget. Nisi aliquando
inciderit questio personae et cum si [illegible] dialecti-
co ad probandam suam thesin in causa. Circumstantiis
inclusa tunc demum rethoricis utatur locis. Itaque
in dialecticis locis. Sed ita contigit ac si in re argumenta
sumuntur. Id est ab ipsa generis natura sed in rethori-
cis ab eo genere quod illi subiectum est de quo agitur nec
a natura generis sed a re sed ab ipsa quae genus
est. sed ut pro ingenio diatorum ratio [illegible] eo pendent quod natu-
ra generis ante [illegible] an fuerit a-
liquis ebrius dicitur si proferre voluimus. Non fuisse quod
nulla in eo luxuries ante cessisset [illegible] minimum que cum luxu-
ries ebrietatis genus quoddam genus sit cum luxuries nul-
la fuerit nec ebrietas [illegible] docenda. Ex alte-
rius in [illegible] luxuries non fuit [illegible] non potuit. Sed natura gene-
ris demonstratur quod dialectica ratio subministrat
in delinquentibus ab est inde etiam species ab eo nec esse quo
genus species non relinquit [illegible] de similibus quidem [illegible] de contra-
riis. Eodem modo in quibus maxima similitudo est inter re-
thoricos ac dialecticos locos, dialectica enim ex ipsis quali-
tatibus, rethorica ex qualitate suscipientibus rebus
argumenta vestigat. Ut dialecticus ex genere id est ex ipsa
generis natura, rethoricus ex ea quae genus est. Et dialecticus
ex similitudine, rethoricus ex simili id est [illegible] quae simi-
litudinem ceperit. Eodem modo illa et contrarietate hic

ex contrario

n
u
n
r
P o
fi

ibit zandan princeps exerci
tus nabuchodonosor qui sublata
ornamenta templi succenditque et
muros hierusalem destruxit desc
riptio. XXXIIII.

Post mortem nabuchodonosor
successit alius rex nomine
milrbedac · qui benefecit cum
ioachim regem iuda qui iacuit
decarcere · Explicit ka
pitula. Incipit liber
quartus.

PREVARICATUS EST AUTEM MOAB IN ISRAHEL

Postquam mortuus est
aab · ceciditque ozias
per cancellos cenaculi
sui qd habebat in sama
ria · et aegrotavit · misitque
nuntios dicens ad eos · Ite
consulite beelzebub deum
accaron · utrum vivere queam
de infirmitate mea hac.
Angelus autem dñi locutus est
ad heliam thesbiten · Sur
ge et ascende in occursum
nuntiorum regis samariae · et
dices ad eos · Numquid non est
ds in israhel · ut eatis ad consu
lendum beelzebub deum
accaron · Quam ob rem haec
dicit dñs · De lectulo super quem
ascendisti non descendes ·
sed morte morieris · Et
abiit helias · reversique sunt
nuntii ad ochoziam · qui
dixit eis · Quare reversi
estis · At illi responderunt ei ·
Vir occurrit nob̄ et dixit
ad nos · Ite et revertimini
ad regem qui misit vos et
dicetis ei · haec dicit dñs ·
Numquid quia non erat ds
in israhel mittitis ut consu
latur beelzebub deum
accaron · Idcirco de lectulo
super quem ascendisti non de
scendes · sed morte mori
eris · Qui dixit eis · Cuius
figurae est et habitus vir
qui occurrit uob̄ · et locu
tus est verbum hoc · At
illi dixerunt · Vir pilosus

sensus. Reversusq; ē inoc
cursū ei⁹. & nuntiavit ei
dicens. Non surrexit puē.
Ingressus ē ergo helyseus
domū. & ecce puer mor
tuus iacebat in lectulo ei⁹.
Ingressusq; clausit hostiū
sup se. & sup puerū. & ora
vit ad dnm. & ascendit &
incubuit sup puerū. Posu
itq; os suū sup os eius. & oculos
suos sup oculos ei⁹. & man⁹
suas sup manus ei⁹. & incu
bavit se sup eū. & calefacta
est caro pueri. Et ille reuēr
sus deambulavit in domo
semel huc & illuc. & ascen
dit. et incurbavit se sup eū.
& oscitavit puer septies.
apuitq; oculos suos. At
ille vocavit giezi & dixit
ei. Voca sunamitē hanc.
Que vocata ingressa ē ad eū.
Cui ait. Tolle filiū tuū. Venit
illa & corruit ad pedes ei⁹
& adoravit sup trā. Tulitq;

filiū suū & egressa est.
helyseus reversus est ī galgala.
GR. Respice dñe in testamentū tuū
& animas pauperum tuorum ne obliui
scaris in finē. V. Exurge dñe & iudica
causam tuā memor esto opprobrii ser
uorū tuorum. SEQ. S. EVG. SEC. LVC. IN
ILLT. Ibat dñs ihs in
civitatē que vocatr naim.
& ibant cū illo discipuli
ei⁹. & turba copiosa. Cū
autē appropinquaret porte
civitatis. ecce defunctus
efferebatr filius unic⁹ matris
sue. Et hec vidua erat. et
turba civitatis multa cum
illa. Quā cū vidisset dns
mīa motus sup eā dixit illi.
Noli flere. Et accessit. et
tetigit loculū. Hi autē q
portabant steterūt. Et ait.
Adolescens. tibi dico. surge.
& resedit qui erat mortuus.
et cepit loq. & dedit illū
matri sue. Accepit autē
omnes timor. & magnifi

cum semp̄ uiuerris · & nos tecum
in cęlis uiuere meream̄ · Qui uiuis Sec.
SACRIficium dn̄e p filii tui suppli
ces uenerabili nunc ascensione de
ferimus · ut & nos p ipsum his com
merciis sacrosc̄is · ad cęlestia consur
gamus · P eundem Ad comp.
TRIBUE qs dn̄e · ut p hæc sacra quę
sumpsimus · illuc tendat nr̄ę deuo
tionis effectus · quo tecum ē nr̄a
substantia · P Ms In AScēns dn̄i.
CONCEDE QS OMPS DS
ut qui hodierna die uni
genitū tuum redempto
rem nr̄m ad cęlos ascendisse credi
mus · ipsi quoq; mente in cęlesti
b; habitemus · P eun Secr.
SUSCIPE dn̄e munera quę p filii
tui glosa ascensione deferimus ·